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A HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH PEOPLE

By
JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M. A.



VOLUME FIVE

From
1815 to the Present Time

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BOOK X.
**ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH
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1815—1909.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE FALL OF NAPOLEON TO THE ACCESSION OF
GEORGE IV

[1815-1820]

THE England which emerged from the great war of 1793-1815 was a very different country from the England of the days before the French Revolution. In all her history there has never been a period of twenty-two years into which so many changes have been compressed. Not merely in matters political and economic, but in all social matters—in literature, in national feeling, in every-day thought and life—there was a profound alteration visible. For the most part the change had been for the better; the great war had exercised a most wholesome and sobering effect on the national character. Few men had watched the atrocities of the French Revolution, or lived through the long period of suspense in 1802-1805, when foreign invasion was daily expected, without taking a profound impression from those times of storm and stress. In the eighteenth century we often hear complaints of the want of patriotism and public spirit in Great Britain: no such reproach could be made to the generation which had fought through the great French war. The slackness and cynicism of the eighteenth century had been completely lived down. Political morality had been enormously improved: in the latter years of the war Whig and Tory had learnt to work together for the common national good despite of mere party interests. In 1806-7 a Tory majority had accepted a Whig ministry, because it seemed for the moment desirable: in the following years the Whigs had refrained from captious opposition to the later Tory

cabinets—though, of course, they had not ceased to criticise their measures. There were none of the selfish and immoral combinations of cliques and groups which used to disgrace the eighteenth century. Parliamentary corruption of the bad old sort—the buying of members by hard cash or gifts of sinecures—had practically disappeared. Statesmen suspected of a want of private integrity could no longer come to the front.

The improved standard of political morals only reflected the general rise in the social morality of the nation. There was a growing feeling against drunkenness, foul language, gambling, and open profligacy, which had been looked upon with such a tolerant eye thirty years before. Nothing shows it better than the deep unpopularity of the Regent, George, Prince of Wales, who carried far into the nineteenth century the evil manners of the eighteenth. The contempt and dislike felt for him by the majority of the nation would never have been felt to such an extent by the older generation.

The revival of religious earnestness, which had begun with Wesley and the Methodists, was enormously developed by the influence of the war. The blasphemous antics of the French Revolutionists had shocked thousands of Englishmen into a more serious view of life, and twenty years of national peril had put flippancy at a discount. Prominent men who made no secret of their earnest religious convictions were no longer liable to be sneered at as enthusiasts or condemned as fanatics. All through the period the Low Church or Evangelical party was working hard and gaining an increasing hold on the nation. The religious indifferentism of the eighteenth century had disappeared.

Nothing shows the general improvement of the nation better than the higher tone of its literature. To the men of 1820 the coarse taste of the men of 1750 had become intolerable. Many will remember Sir Walter Scott's story of his friend who read over in old age the books which had seemed amusing fifty years back, and found that they

only raised a feeling of shame and disgust. It was a fact of a very typical sort that Scott himself was by far the most popular poet of his own day; men preferred his healthy, vigorous, patriotic strains to the work of his younger contemporaries, Byron and Shelley: though both were greater poets than the author of *Marmion* and the *Last Minstrel*, the one was too morbid and satanic, and the other too hysterical and anarchic for the taste of the time.

Turning to matters of a more tangible kind, we find as great a difference in the England of 1793 and of 1815. The population and resources of the country had grown in those twenty-two years in a measure for which previous history could afford no parallel. The distribution of the newly-gotten wealth was far less satisfactory, and numerous social problems had grown up which were bound to force themselves upon public attention the moment that the stress of war was removed. In population, the United Kingdom had increased from 14,000,000 to 19,000,000 souls, in spite of the considerable waste of life in the foreign war and in the Irish troubles of 1797-8.

But the rise in trade and commerce had been far more startling. Our exports had more than doubled: in 1792 they had stood at £27,000,000; in 1815 the figures were £58,000,000. The imports had gone up between the same years from £19,000,000 to £32,000,000. Still more astounding was the rise in the national finances. The ordinary peace revenue had produced £19,000,000 in 1792: the same heads of taxation, as opposed to the extra war-revenue, brought in £45,000,000 in 1815. It was this marvellous expansion of our resources alone which had enabled us to last out the Napoleonic struggle. If, as generally happens during war, the national resources had decayed rather than multiplied under the stress of heavy taxation and constant alarms, we should have been exhausted long before Bonaparte had run through his full career. We have spoken already of the main factor of our prosperity, the monopoly of the carrying trade of the world, which we had won by our naval victories, and which

our enemy's insane "Continental System" had done much to confirm to us. The other great element in the growth of the wealth of Britain had been the immense development of our internal manufactures. Even before 1792 the development of machinery in our factories had already begun, and we were rapidly asserting a superiority over our neighbours. The war completed our ascendancy. While every other land in Europe was repeatedly overrun by hostile armies, Great Britain alone was free to work out her new discoveries without interruption. Many of her industries were notably fostered by the lavish expenditure on our army and navy: the demand for iron and steel, cloth and cotton, for military purposes had been enormous. Our factories had been working for continental paymasters also: even Napoleon himself, it is said, had been compelled to secretly procure from Yorkshire looms the cloth for the coats of the army which took the field in 1813, so entirely had continental manufactures failed him.

There was a general and very natural expectation in 1815-16 that the termination of the great continental war would bring about a period of even greater expansion and commercial supremacy for Great Britain. "Peace and Prosperity" have always been linked in men's minds. It is, therefore, at first sight strange to find that the five years which immediately followed Waterloo were among the most troublous and unhappy periods in our domestic history. So widespread and long-continued was the distress and unrest, that men of gloomy and pessimistic frame of mind feared that we were on the edge of a social revolution. The causes of the misery of the years 1816-21 are, however, not difficult to understand. They affected both the agricultural and the manufacturing interests.

The war had naturally caused an enormous rise in the prices of all agricultural produce. We had been cut off from the corn-markets of Europe, and after 1812 from those of America also. Moreover, the unwise system of "protection," which the Tory party consistently carried out, tended to keep corn artificially dear by the heavy

import duties imposed on the supply from foreign countries. This monopoly of the English grower of cereal products had led to an altogether unnatural inflation of prices: thrice between 1810 and 1814 the annual average value of the quarter of wheat had risen over 100s. We consider it dear now when the figure of 30s. has been reached. While the town dwellers suffered from the exorbitant cost of the loaf, the land-owners and farmers had gained: the rents of the one, the profits of the other, had increased to an immoderate degree. The poorer agricultural classes had not shared to any great extent in this prosperity, owing to the iniquitous system of the Poor Law, of which we shall have to speak later on. But from 1814 onward the inflated war prices ceased, and during the next three years the cost of wheat varied from 60s. to 80s. the quarter, instead of from 90s. to 120s. This was a terrible blow to the farmers and landlords, who had calculated their rents and their expenditure on the higher average, as if the war was to last forever. The whole agricultural interest was very hard hit, and many individuals were ruined. But the worst of the stress fell on the unfortunate labourers, though they had not shared in the profits of the time of inflated prices that had just ended. When the farmers were turning off their hands and cutting down wages, the poorer classes in the country were not compensated by the fact that the loaf had become appreciably cheaper. There followed acute distress, which ended in riots and rick-burning over large districts of the southern and midland shires. There were wild rumours of secret associations, of plots for a general rising like that of the French peasants in 1789, with plunder and massacre to follow. Most of this talk was groundless; but there was a certain amount of fire beneath the smoke, and in many parts the labourers were ready for mischief.

While rural England was in this unhappy state, the great towns were also in evil case. In 1815-18 the manufacturing classes were suffering from their own set of troubles almost as much as the agricultural classes. The

cessation of the war had put an end to the unnatural expansion of the industries which had profited by our naval and military expenditure: the price of iron, for example, fell from £20 to £8 a ton when the Government ceased to be a buyer. In many trades, too, over-speculation on the part of the great employers of labour led to distress. There had been a widespread notion that the countries of the continent would be able to absorb almost any amount of English goods the moment that the Continental System was removed. Our factories at once threw upon the world such a vastly-increased output that the foreign market was glutted: indeed, the final struggle of 1812-14 had so drained the resources of France, Russia, Spain, and Germany, that they had little or no money to buy luxuries or even necessities. The exported goods had to be sent back or sold at an actual loss. Hence came bankruptcies and wholesale dismissal of operatives at home. The labour market was at the same time affected by the disbanding of many scores of thousands of soldiers and sailors. As many as 250,000 men were released from service in 1816-17-18, and had to find themselves new trades at short notice. Another source of trouble was the dying out of the old trades which had subsisted on hand-labour, and were being superseded by machinery. The last generation of the workmen in these industries suffered bitter privation before they could or would transfer themselves to other occupations. It was they who distinguished themselves by the so-called *Luddite* outrages, in which gangs went by night to destroy the machinery in the new factories which were underselling their labour.

The Government which had to face all these difficulties, social and economic, was unfortunately not in the least competent to deal with them. George III. had fallen into his last fit of melancholy madness in 1810, and his son George, Prince of Wales, was a sorry substitute for him. The father had often been obstinate and wrong-headed, but at least he was always honest, courageous, and a model of all the domestic virtues: no one could help respecting

the good old king, whatever he might think of his wisdom. But the Regent was frankly disreputable: he tried the loyalty of England to the monarchical system as no other ruler has done since James II. A debauchee and gambler, a disobedient son, a cruel husband, a heartless father, an ungrateful and treacherous friend, he was a sore burden to the ministries which had to act in his name and palliate his misdoings. There was a widespread hope that his ruined constitution would not carry him through many more years, and that the succession might pass to his young daughter, the Princess Charlotte. But she died in childbirth in 1816, a year after her marriage to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and her father was destined to prolong his worthless life for fourteen years longer.

The cabinet which held office under the Regent was the Tory administration of Lord Liverpool. Its chief was an honest man and a good financier, but narrow-minded, prejudiced, and blindly opposed to all measures of political reform. His home secretary was Addington (now Lord Sidmouth), the unsuccessful premier of 1801-4, a man even more bigoted than his chief. Foreign affairs were in the hands of Lord Castlereagh, another high Tory, who had done good service as a diplomatist during the Napoleonic war, but was a reactionary, and suspected of being too great a friend of the despotic monarchs of the continent.

Lord Liverpool's ministry acted according to the best of its lights in dealing with the crisis of 1816-20. They cut down expenses as far as they were able, reduced the army and navy to the lowest limit consistent with safety, and did good service by restoring the currency, and replacing by a new coinage of gold sovereigns the depreciated bank-notes which had carried England through the war.* But thrift and honest finance were not sufficient to deal with

* In the worst years of the war the bank-note for £5 would only buy about £3 18s. in gold. There had been practically no coinage of guineas since 1797, nor of silver since 1787. The new issue of gold was made in sovereigns, not in guineas, a great convenience in all payments.

the national troubles: measures of political and economic reform were urgently needed, and these the Liverpool cabinet was determined not to grant. They looked upon the strikes and riots that vexed the land, not as manifestations of poverty and starvation—which was in the main their real character—but as symptoms of a dangerous revolutionary conspiracy against the monarchy. The few noisy demagogues who were endeavouring to make capital out of the national discontent, they treated as if they were embryo Robespierres and Marats. Against the demonstrations and meetings of the distressed they employed armed force with a wholly unnecessary harshness. In the one or two cases where the rioters acted with violence, as at the Spa Fields Riot in London (1816), the Derby rising (June, 1817), and the Bonnymuir rising in Scotland (June, 1820), they made a very feeble show when resolutely faced: but the Government none the less had some dozens of them executed for treason. A much less formidable indictment and a far milder punishment would have sufficed for such half-hearted revolutionaries. The greatest of the mistakes of the ruling powers was the unhappy business at Manchester on August 16, 1819. An orderly demonstration by an unarmed multitude was dispersed by a cavalry charge, in which some five or six people were trodden to death, and sixty or seventy injured or wounded.

The cabinet had just so much excuse that there were a few hot-headed demagogues who really meant mischief. The best known was a certain Arthur Thistlewood, a bankrupt adventurer who had a small following in London. He was a wild incendiary of the type of the French Jacobins, whose language and violence he carefully imitated. To avenge the "Manchester Massacre," he plotted the wholesale murder of the ministers. Learning that the whole cabinet were about to dine together on February 23, 1820, he persuaded a score of frantic desperadoes to join him in an attempt to break into the house where they were to meet, for the purpose of slaying them all. He was be-

trayed by an accomplice, and his band was surrounded by a company of guards at their trysting-place in Cato Street, and arrested after a bloody scuffle. Thistlewood and several of his accomplices were very properly hung. Abhorrence of their atrocious plot had a good deal of effect in restraining further agitation.

Just before the "Cato Street Conspiracy" had been frustrated, the old king George III. died, and the regent ascended the throne under the name of George IV. It was assuredly not from any merit of his that the national troubles began soon after to die down. The fact was that they were mainly the result of famine and despair, and that about 1820 there was a marked recovery in trade in the manufacturing districts, while in the countryside the farmers and labourers had succeeded in adapting themselves in some degree to the new scale of prices for agricultural produce. Riots and outrages gradually subsided, but there remained a strong political dislike for the Tory cabinet and its harsh and repressive measures. The middle classes had begun to go over to the side of the Whigs, who now, for the first time since the outbreak of the great French war, began to find that they had a solid and powerful backing in the nation. Men had willingly consented to put aside all demands for constitutional change as long as the struggle with Napoleon lasted. It was now high time that the projects for political reform, which Pitt had sketched out thirty years before, should be taken in hand. As Pitt's heirs in the Tory party showed small signs of carrying them out, all those who were anxious to see them brought forward joined the other camp.

The chief of these burning questions was the Emancipation of the Catholics from political disabilities—a topic which had not been seriously raised since 1807—and the reform of the House of Commons, which was growing more unrepresentative of the nation every day. On certain other points—such as Free Trade, the removal of the protective duties placed on foreign corn and other commodities, the abolition of slavery in the British colonies,

the reform of the Poor Laws—there was division in the Tory camp: the older generation were for leaving everything where it was: the younger were more ready to move on. In face of a vigorous and growing opposition, it is astonishing how long the Liverpool cabinet succeeded in staving off all manner of reforms: the delay was only rendered possible by the fact that the House of Commons so grossly misrepresented the nation. As long as the system of “rotten boroughs” went on, a Government supported by the majority of borough-mongers could defy public opinion in a manner that has long ceased to be possible.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE IV. AND QUEEN CAROLINE. POLITICS, POETRY, AND LITERATURE

[1820-1827]

It is a notable fact, as illustrating the politics of that day, that the first checks to the policy of this rigid Tory Government came not on any great question of reform, but on a personal matter concerning the king. George IV. had been separated for many years from his unfortunate wife, Caroline of Brunswick. From the beginning he had treated her shamefully, and the pair were separated after the birth of an only child, the Princess Charlotte. In 1816 this Princess, the heiress to the throne, was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and in 1817 she died in child-bed. She had been very popular, and hopes had been entertained that when she came to reign she would establish at Court a purer life. Her death accordingly caused a general gloom. When George IV. came to the throne attention was publicly called to his degrading vices. To his wife, who had been leading an indiscreet and probably a discreditable life on the Continent, he refused to allow the position or even the title of a queen. In 1820, when she returned to meet any charges that might be brought against her, she received a most enthusiastic greeting from the populace, the general feeling being that, even if her conduct had been as bad as her husband said, his own had been so base that he had no right to call her in question. The ministers, indeed, introduced into the House of Lords a Bill to dissolve her marriage and to deprive her of the title of queen, but the majority in its favour was so small that they had to abandon it. The queen's popularity, however, deserted her when she ac-

cepted a grant of money from the ministers who had attacked her, and in 1821 she died.

In Spain, Ferdinand VII., and, in Naples, Ferdinand I., had been ruling despotically and harshly. In 1820 the armies in both countries rose against the kings and established the same democratic constitution in both. Metternich, the Austrian minister, called on the great Powers of Europe to put down what he held to be a pernicious example to all other countries. Russia and Prussia supported him, and, meeting in congress at Troppau, called on England and France to join them against the Neapolitans. Louis XVIII., on the part of France, attempted to mediate, and though Castlereagh, the English Foreign Secretary, warmly disapproved of revolutions, he protested against Metternich's view that the great Powers had a right to interfere to suppress changes of government in smaller states. In 1821 the congress removed to Laibach, and an Austrian army marched upon Naples. The Neapolitan army ran away, and the Austrians restored Ferdinand I. A military revolution which took place in the kingdom of Sardinia was crushed at the same time. In 1823 a French army entered Spain and restored Ferdinand VII. Both at Naples and in Spain the restored kings were vindictively cruel to those who had driven them from power.

Castlereagh did not live to work out the policy which he had announced in the protest laid by him before the congress of Troppau. In 1822, in a moment of insanity, he committed suicide. His successor was George Canning. There was no great difference in the substance of the policy of the two men. Both had supported the doctrine of national independence against Napoleon, and both were ready to support it against the allied Powers whose union was popularly, though incorrectly, known as the Holy Alliance. Castlereagh, however, was anxious to conciliate the great Powers as much as possible, and confined his protests to written despatches, which were kept secret; whereas Canning took pleasure in defying Metternich and openly turned him into ridicule in the eyes of the world.

Castlereagh was accordingly detested in England as the supporter of the Holy Alliance, whereas Canning soon became popular as its opponent. He allowed, indeed, the French army to enter Spain in 1823, and had no thought of dragging England into a war; but in 1824 he acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, after it had practically been accomplished by the exertions of the colonists. "I have called," he said boastfully, "a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Such claptrap revealed the lower side of his character; but in 1826 he showed that he could act promptly as well as speak foolishly. A constitutional government having been established in Portugal, Spain, backed by France, threatened to invade Portugal. Canning at once sent British troops to secure Portugal, and the danger was averted.

The object of the revolutionists in Spain and Italy had been constitutional change. An almost simultaneous rising in Greece aimed at national independence. The Turkish government was a cruel despotism, and in 1821 there was a rising in the Peloponnesus or Morea. Turks and Greeks were merciless to one another. The Turks massacred Greeks, and the Greeks gave no quarter to Turks. The Greeks had the advantage of a well-equipped shipping, and could hold their own at sea. In 1822 two great Turkish armies were sent to conquer the insurgents in the land, but one was driven back by the defenders of Missolonghi in Ætolia, the other was starved out and perished in the mountains of Argolis. The Sultan Mahmoud appealed for help to Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had practically made himself almost independent of the Sultan, and Mehemet Ali sent to his help an Egyptian army under his own adopted son Ibrahim Pasha. In 1824 Ibrahim conquered Crete, and in 1825 landed in Peloponnesus, where he did his best absolutely to exterminate the population by slaughtering the men and sending off the women to be sold into slavery. In 1826, whilst Ibrahim was wasting Peloponnesus, the Turks captured Missolonghi, and in 1827 they reduced the Acropolis of Athens. Canning had all

along sympathised with the Greeks, but Metternich opposed him in all directions. Canning accordingly turned to Russia, where Nicholas had succeeded his brother Alexander I. in 1825, and in 1826 he and the new Tzar came to an agreement that Greece should be freed from the direct government of the sultan, but should be required to pay him a tribute.

Whilst Canning won credit for the ministry by a popular direction of foreign affairs, Peel—who had succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary in 1821—won credit for it by his mode of dealing with domestic difficulties. When he came into office a deep feeling of distrust existed between the rich and the poor. The rich were in a state of panic, fearing every political movement amongst the mass of their fellow-countrymen as likely to produce a renewal in England of the horrors of the French Revolution. The poor, on the other hand, attributed the misery resulting from economical causes, or even from the badness of the weather, to the deliberate machinations of the rich. What was wanted at that time was, not to bring classes into more violent collision by attempting to reform Parliament in a democratic direction, but to soften down the irritation between them by a series of administrative and economic reforms, which should present Parliament as a helper rather than as a contriver of fresh methods of repression. Peel was, of all men, the best fitted to take the lead in such a work. He had no sympathy with hasty and sweeping change, but he had an open mind for all practical improvements. Sooner or later the force of reasoning made an impression on him, and he was never above avowing—what with some people is the most terrible of confessions—that he had changed his mind.

The reform of the criminal law had long been advocated in vain by two large-minded members of the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh. As the law stood at the beginning of the century no less than two hundred crimes were punishable by death. Anyone, for instance, who stole fish out of a pond, who

hunted in the king's forests, or who injured Westminster Bridge, was to be hanged. Sometimes these harsh laws were put in force, but more often juries refused to convict even the guilty, preferring rather to perjure themselves by delivering a verdict which they knew to be untrue than send to death a person who had merely committed a trivial offence. Again and again the House of Commons had voted for an alteration of the law, but the House of Lords had obstinately refused to pass the Bills sent up to them with this object. In 1823 Peel brought in Bills for the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred crimes, and the House of Lords at last gave way, now that the abolition was recommended by a minister.

Reforms were the more easily made because the distress which had prevailed earlier was now at an end. In 1821 a revival of commerce began, and in 1824 and 1825 there was great prosperity. In the struggle which had long continued between master-manufacturers and their workmen, the workmen had frequently combined together in trades-unions to impose terms upon the masters, and had attempted to enforce their demands by striking work. Combinations between workmen were, however, illegal till in 1824, at the instance of Joseph Hume, a rising economical reformer, and with the warm support of Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, the laws against combinations were repealed, though in 1825, in consequence of acts of violence done by the workmen against unpopular masters, a further act was passed making all combinations both of masters and men, if entered on for the purpose of fixing wages, but illegal if entered on for any other purpose.

This attempt to give freedom to labour was accompanied by steps in the direction of freedom of trade. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported by Huskisson, employed the surplus given him by the prosperity of the country to reduce the duties on some imports. It was but little that was done, but it was the first time since Pitt's commercial treaty with France that a government showed any signs of perceiving that Englishmen would be better

off by the removal of artificial difficulties in the way of their trade with other nations.

Though the ministry was in name a Tory ministry, it was far from being united on any subject. Some of its members, like the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, continued to detest all reforms, thinking that they must ultimately lead to a catastrophe; whilst other ministers, like Canning, Peel, and Huskisson, were in favour of gradual reforms, though there were some particular questions on which even the reformers were not in agreement. So discordant a ministry could hardly have been kept together but for the tact and easy nature of its head, the Earl of Liverpool, who allowed the ministers to argue against one another in Parliament even on important subjects. On February 17, 1827, Liverpool was incapacitated from public service by an attack of apoplexy, and it was by that time evident that the two sections of the Cabinet would not be able to serve together under any other leader. Whatever differences there might be about details, the main difference between the two sections can be easily described. On the one hand, the unprogressive section not only disliked the idea of changing institutions which had proved themselves useful in past times, but also shrank from giving way to increased popular control over Parliament, or to any violent popular demand for legislation. On the other hand, the progressive section, though hardly prepared to allow the decisions of Parliament to be influenced by popular pressure, was yet in some sympathy with the popular feeling on subjects ripe for legislation.

As usually happens, the strong opinions which prevailed amongst politicians were reflected in the literature of the time. Burns, the Ayrshire ploughman, whose first verses were written in 1775, was in full accordance with the precursors of the French Revolution in his love of nature and his revolt against traditional custom, and too often in his revolt against traditional morality. The often-quoted lines

The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that,

show the same contempt for class distinctions as inspired the writings of Rousseau. Whilst, however, Rousseau looked to the good sense of the masses to remedy the evils of the time, Burns turned hopefully to the work and sturdiness of individual men to heal the evils caused by the inordinate value placed on social rank. The honour paid to the free development of individual character was, in fact, the characteristic of the English and Scottish revolt against existing order, as opposed to the honour paid by the French Revolutionists to the opinion of the community. Byron, whose first poems were printed in 1806, but whose first great work—the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*—appeared in 1812, embodied this form of revolt in his works as well as in his life in a very different fashion from that of Burns. Breaking loose himself from moral restraints, he loved to glorify the characters of those who set at defiance the order of civilised life. In 1824 he died of fever at Missolonghi, fighting for Greek independence. Shelley, whose poems range from 1808 to his early death by drowning in 1822, had a gentler spirit. All human law and discipline seemed to him to be the mere invention of tyrants, by which the instinctive craving of the soul for beauty of form and nobility of life was repressed.

On the other hand two great poets, Scott and Wordsworth, upheld the traditions of the ancient order of society. Scott's first great poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, appeared in 1805. In 1814 he deserted poetry for the writing of the Waverley Novels. His mind was filled with reverence for the past life of his country, and this he set forth in verse and prose as no other writer has done. Yet Scott's work may be quoted in support of the doctrine that no considerable movement of thought can leave its greatest opponents unaffected, and the better side of the revolutionary upturning, its preference of the natural to the artificial, and of the humble to the exalted, inspired the best work of Scott. His imaginative love for the heath-clad mountains of his country, and his skill in depicting the pathos and the humour of the lowly, stood him in better

stead than his skill in bringing before his readers the chivalry and the pageantry of the past. As it was with Scott so it was with Wordsworth, whose first poetry was published in 1793. The early promise of the French Revolution filled him with enthusiasm, but its excesses disgusted him, and he soon became an attached admirer of the institutions of his country. It was not this admiration, however, which put the stamp of greatness on his work, but his open eye fixed, even more clearly than Scott's, upon the influences of nature upon the human mind, and a loving sympathy with the lives of the poor.

In politics and in law the same influences were felt as in literature. As the horror caused by the French Revolution cleared away, there arose a general dissatisfaction with the existing tendency to uphold what exists merely because it exists. The dissatisfaction thus caused found support in the writings of Jeremy Bentham, who busied himself from 1776 to his death in 1832 with suggestions of legal and political reform. Like Voltaire and the French encyclopedists, he asked that legislation might be rational, and he sought a basis for rational legislation in the doctrine of utility. Utility he defined to be "that property in any object whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness, or to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered." The object which Bentham desired, therefore, has been summed up in the phrase "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and though in pursuit of this Bentham and his disciples often left out of sight the satisfaction of the spiritual and emotional parts of man's complex nature, they undoubtedly did much to clear away an enormous quantity of mischievous legislation. It was in a kindred spirit that Romilly, Maekintosh and Peel urged on the modification of the criminal law, and it was hardly likely that a movement of this kind, when once begun, would be soon arrested.

BOOK XI.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY.

CHAPTER III

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

[1827-1832]

DURING the latter years of Liverpool's Prime Ministership two questions had been coming into prominence: the one that of Catholic Emancipation by the admission of Catholics to Parliament and to offices of state; the other that of Parliamentary Reform, with a view to diminish the power of the landowners over elections to the House of Commons, and to transfer at least part of their power to enlarged constituencies. Of the leading statesmen Wellington and Peel were opposed to both the proposed changes; Canning was in favour of Catholic emancipation, but opposed to Parliamentary reform; whilst the Whigs, the most noteworthy of whom were Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, were favourable to both.

Before Liverpool left office a resolution in favour of Catholic emancipation was defeated in the House of Commons by the slight majority of four, and almost immediately afterwards Canning, who had spoken and voted for it, was appointed Prime Minister. Seven of the former ministers, including Wellington and Peel, refused to serve under him. On the other hand, he obtained the support of the Whigs, to a few of whom office was shortly afterwards given. The Whigs had been long unpopular, on account of the opposition which they had offered to the war with France even whilst Wellington was conducting his great campaigns in the Peninsula; but they had now a chance of recovering public favour by associating them-

selves with domestic reforms. There can hardly be a doubt that Canning's ministry, if it had lasted, could only have maintained itself by a more extended admission of the Whigs to power. Canning's health was, however, failing, and on August 8 he died, having been Prime Minister for less than four months.

Canning was succeeded by Goderich, who had formerly, as Mr. Robinson, been Chancellor of the Exchequer. His colleagues quarrelled with one another, and Goderich was too weak a man to settle their disputes. Before the end of the year news arrived which increased their differences. On July 6, whilst Canning still lived, a treaty had been signed in London between England, France and Russia, binding the three powers to offer mediation between the Turks and the Greeks, and, in the event of either party rejecting their mediation, to put an end by force to the struggle which was going on. Instructions were sent to Codrington, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, to stop supplies coming into Greece from Turkey or Egypt, but to avoid hostilities. On September 9 a fleet composed of Turkish and Egyptian ships, laden with men and supplies, reached Navarino, close to the ancient Pylos, in the south-west of Peloponnesus. Codrington arrived two days later, and was afterwards joined by French and Russian squadrons. The combined fleet compelled the Turkish and Egyptian fleet to remain inactive. On land, however, Ibrahim, who commanded the army transported in it from Egypt, proceeded deliberately to turn the soil of Peloponnesus into a desert, slaying and wasting as he moved. On October 20, the allied admirals, unwilling to tolerate the commission of such brutalities, entered the Bay of Navarino, in which twenty-two centuries before Athenians and Lacedæmonians had contended for the mastery. A gun was fired from a Turkish ship, and a battle began in which half of the Egyptian fleet was destroyed, and the remainder submitted. The victory made Greek independence possible. There can be little doubt that Canning, if he had lived, would have been overjoyed at

the result. Goderich and his colleagues in the ministry could not agree whether Codrington deserved praise or blame. There were fresh quarrels amongst them, and, on December 21, "Goody Goderich," as the wits called him, went to the king to complain of his opponents. George IV. told him to go home and take care of himself. It is said that on this the Prime Minister burst into tears, and that the king offered him his pocket handkerchief to dry them. On January 9, 1828, Goderich formally resigned.

The Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, and Peel again became Home Secretary and the leading minister in the House of Commons. The new ministry, from which the Whigs were rigorously excluded, was to be like Lord Liverpool's one, in which Catholic emancipation was to be an open question, each minister being at liberty to speak and vote on it as he thought fit. Those who supported it, of whom Huskisson was one, were now known as Canningites, from their attachment to the principles of that minister. It was, however, unlikely that the two sections of the ministry would long hold together, especially as the question of Parliamentary reform was now rising into importance, and the Canningites showed a disposition to break away on this point from Wellington and Peel, who were strongly opposed to any change in the constitution of Parliament.

The cause of Parliamentary reform had suffered much from the sweeping nature of the proposals made after the great war by Hunt and Sir Francis Burdett. In 1819 the question was taken up by a young Whig member, Lord John Russell, who perceived that the only chance of prevailing with the House of Commons was to ask it to accept much smaller changes than those for which Burdett asked, and thought that, whilst it would not listen to declarations about the right of the people to manhood suffrage, it might listen to a proposal to remedy admitted grievances in detail. In 1819 he drew attention to the subject, and in 1820 asked for the disfranchisement, at the next election, of four places in Devon and Cornwall: Grampound, Pen-

ryn, Barnstaple and Camelford, which returned two members apiece, and in which corruption notoriously prevailed. His proposal, accepted by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords. In a new Parliament which met later in the same year Lord John proposed to disfranchise Grampound only, and to transfer its members to Leeds, thus touching one of the great political grievances of the day, the possession of the right of returning members by small villages, whilst it was refused to large communities like Birmingham and Leeds. The House was, however, frightened at the idea of giving power to populous towns, and in 1821, when the Bill for disfranchising Grampound was actually passed, its members were transferred, not to Leeds but to Yorkshire, which thus came to return four members instead of two. A first step had thus been taken in the direction of reform, and Lord John Russell from time to time attempted to obtain the assent of the House of Commons to a proposal to take into consideration the whole subject. Time after time, however, his motions were rejected, and in 1827 Lord John fell back on his former plan of separately attacking corrupt boroughs. In 1827 Penryn and East Retford having been found guilty of corruption, he obtained a vote in the Commons for the disfranchisement of Penryn, whilst the disfranchisement of East Retford was favourably considered. As this vote was not followed by the passing of any act of Parliament to give effect to it, it was understood that Lord John would make fresh proposals in the following year.

In 1828, after the formation of the Wellington Ministry, before the question of the corrupt boroughs was discussed, Russell was successful in removing another grievance. He proposed to repeal the Corporation Act, and the Test Act, so far as it compelled all applicants for office and for seats in Parliament to receive the Communion in the Church of England. By this means relief would be given to Dissenters, whilst Roman Catholics would still be excluded by the clause which required a declaration against transubstantiation and which Russell did not propose to re-

peal. Russell's scheme was resisted by the ministers but accepted by the House, and it finally became law, passing the House of Lords upon the addition of a clause suggested by Peel requiring a declaration from Dissenters claiming to hold office or to sit in Parliament or in municipal corporations that they would not use their power "to injure or subvert the Established Church." It was thus made evident that Peel could not be counted on to resist change as absolutely as Sidmouth could have been calculated on when the reaction against the French Revolution was at its height. He was practical and cautious, not easily caught by new ideas, but prompt to discover when resistance became more dangerous than concession, and resolutely determined to follow honestly his intellectual convictions.

The ministry had been distracted by constant squabbles, and at last, in May, 1828, Huskisson and the other Canningites resigned, the ministry being reconstructed as a purely Tory ministry. The Tories were in ecstasies, forgetting that their leaders, Wellington and Peel, were too sensible to pursue a policy of mere resistance.

The main question, on which the Tories took one side and the Whigs and Canningites the other, was that of Catholic Emancipation. That question now assumed a new prominence. In Ireland Catholic emancipation was advocated by Daniel O'Connell, who was himself a Roman Catholic, and was not only an eloquent speaker whose words went home to the hearts of his countrymen, but also the leader of a great society, the Catholic Association, which had been formed in 1823 to support Catholic emancipation. In 1824 the Catholic Association became thoroughly organized, and commanded a respect amongst the majority of Irishmen which was not given to the Parliament at Westminster. O'Connell's words sometimes pointed to the possibility of resistance if Parliament rejected the Catholic claims. In 1825 Parliament passed an act to dissolve the Association. The Irish were, however, too quick-witted to allow it to be suppressed by

British legislation. They dissolved the Association, but started a new one in which the question of Catholic emancipation was not to be discussed, though the members naturally thought the more about it. In Parliament itself many who had voted for the dissolution of the Association voted for Catholic emancipation, and, in 1825, a Bill granting it passed the Commons, though it was rejected by the Lords.

In 1828, Vesey Fitzgerald, member for the county of Clare, was promoted to an office previously held by one of the Canningites, and had, consequently, to present himself for re-election. O'Connell stood in opposition to him for the vacant seat. All the influence of the priests was thrown on his side, and he was triumphantly returned, though it was known that he would refuse to declare against transubstantiation, and would thus be prevented by the unrepealed clause of the Test Act from taking his seat in the House of Commons.

When Parliament met in 1829 it was discovered that the Government intended to grant Catholic emancipation, to which it had hitherto been bitterly opposed. Wellington looked at the matter with a soldier's eye. He did not like to admit the Catholics, and had held the position against them as long as it was tenable. It was now, in his opinion, untenable, because to reject the Catholic claims would bring about a civil war, and a civil war was worse than the proposed legislation. He felt it, therefore, to be his duty to retreat to another position, from which civil order could be better defended. Peel's mind moved slowly, but it moved certainly, and he now appeared as a defender of Catholic relief on principle. To show his sincerity, Peel resigned his seat for the University of Oxford, and presented himself for re-election in order to allow his constituents to express an opinion on his change of front; and, being defeated at Oxford, was chosen by the small borough of Westbury. A Bill, giving effect to the intentions of the Government, was brought in. The anger of the Tories was exceedingly great, and even Wellington

had, after the fashion of those days, to prove his sincerity by fighting a duel with the Earl of Winchilsea. The king resisted, but the resistance of George IV., now a weak old voluptuary, was easily beaten down. The Commons passed the Bill, throwing open Parliament, and all offices except a few of special importance, to the Roman Catholics, after which the House of Lords, under Wellington's influence, accepted it. The Bill therefore became law, accompanied by another for disfranchising forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. These freeholders had been allowed to vote as long as their votes were given to the landlords; their votes were taken from them now that they were given to the candidates supported by the priests.

Catholic emancipation was the result of the spread of one of the principles which had actuated the French Revolutionists in 1789, the principle that religious opinions ought not to be a bar to the exercise of civil or political rights. It was—as far, at least, as Great Britain was concerned—not the result of any democratic movement. The mass of Englishmen and Scotchmen still entertained a strong dislike of the Roman Catholics, and it has often been said, perhaps with truth, that if Parliament had been reformed in 1829, the Emancipation Bill would have been rejected. The position of the ministers in the House of Commons was weakened in consequence of the enmity of many of their old supporters, whilst the opposition, composed of Whigs and Canningites, was not likely to give them constant support. In the course of 1830 the Whigs chose Lord Althorp as their leader, who, though he had no commanding genius, inspired confidence by his thorough honesty. Before the effect of this change appeared George IV. died unregretted on June 26.

The eldest surviving brother of the late king succeeded as William IV. He was eccentric, and courted popularity by walking about the streets, and allowed himself to be treated with the utmost familiarity by his subjects. Some people thought that, like his father, he would be a lunatic before he died. A new Parliament was elected in which

the Tories, though they lost many seats, still had a majority divided against itself. Events occurred on the Continent which tended to weaken still further the Wellington ministry. In France, Charles X., having succeeded his brother Louis XVIII., became rapidly unpopular. Defying the Chambers, which answered in France to the Parliament in England, he was overthrown in July 1830 by a revolution which placed his distant cousin, the Duke of Orleans, on the throne. Louis Philippe, however, instead of taking the title of King of France, which had been borne by the preceding kings, assumed that of King of the French, as a sign of his adoption of a merely constitutional authority. He was, in fact, to be to France what William III. had been to England. Such a movement in a neighbouring nation could not fail to influence Englishmen, especially as there was a feeling now spreading in England in some respects analogous to that which existed in France. Charles X. had been deposed not merely because he claimed absolute power, but because he did so in the interests of the aristocracy as opposed to those of the middle class, and in England too the middle class was striving to assert itself against the landowners who almost exclusively filled the two Houses. The lead was taken by the Birmingham Political Union, and all over the country demands were made for Parliamentary reform.

In the House of Lords, when a new Parliament was opened in November, Lord Grey—who as Mr. Grey had urged the necessity of reforming Parliament in the early days of the great French Revolution—suggested to Wellington that it would be well to bring in such a measure now. Wellington not only refused, but added that if he had to form for the first time a legislature for the country “he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results.” After this his ministry was doomed. On November 15 it was

defeated in the House of Commons by a combination between the opposition and dissatisfied Tories, and Wellington at once resigned. He had done good service to the state, having practised economy and maintained efficiency. In London his ministry made its mark by the introduction, in 1829, of a new police, in the place of the old useless constables who allowed thieves to escape instead of catching them. The nicknames of "Bobby" and "Peeler" which long attached themselves to policemen had their origin in the names of Robert Peel, by whom the force was organized.

Lord Grey became the head of a ministry composed of Whigs and Canningites. Amongst the former were Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp who led the House of Commons, and Viscount Melbourne, a man of great abilities and great indolence of temperament, of whom it was said that his usual answer to proposals of reform was, "Can't you let it alone?" Amongst the latter was Lord Palmerston, another Canningite, who had long been known as a painstaking official of considerable powers, but who now for the first time found a position worthy of them by becoming Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Brougham, a stirring but eccentric orator, was made Lord Chancellor to keep him from being troublesome in the House of Commons. To Lord John Russell an inferior office was assigned, and he was not made a member of the Cabinet, but, in consequence of the services which he had rendered to the cause of Parliamentary reform, he was entrusted with the task of bringing before the House of Commons the Bill which the new Government proposed to introduce on that subject.

The Reform Bill was brought in by Russell on March 1, 1831. He had an easy task in exposing the faults of the old system. Old Sarum, which returned two members, was only a green mound, without a habitation upon it. Gatton, which also returned two members, was only a ruined wall, whilst vast communities like Birmingham and Manchester were totally unrepresented. The proposal of

the ministry was to sweep away sixty small boroughs returning 119 members, and to give only one member apiece instead of two to forty-six other boroughs nearly as small. Most of the seats thus placed at the disposal of the ministry were to be given, in almost equal proportions, to the counties and the great towns of England; a few being reserved for Scotland and Ireland. In the counties, the franchise or right of voting which had hitherto been confined to the possessors of a freehold worth 40s. a year, was conferred also on persons holding land worth 10*l.* a year by copyhold, or 50*l.* a year by lease.* In the boroughs a uniform franchise was given to all householders paying rent of 10*l.* a year.

The Tories were numerous in the House of Commons, and opposed the Bill as revolutionary. Many of them shared the opinion of Wellington, who believed that if it passed the poor would seize the property of the rich and divide it amongst themselves. In reality, the character of the voters in the counties would be much the same as it had been before, whilst the majority of the voters in the boroughs would be the smaller shopkeepers who were not in the least likely to attack property. The second reading of the Bill,† however, only passed by a majority of one, and a hostile amendment to one of its clauses having been carried, the Government withdrew the Bill and dissolved Parliament in order that the question might be referred to the electors.

In times of excitement the electors contrived to impress

*The copyhold is so called because it is a tenure of which the only evidence is a copy of the Court Roll of a Manor. It is a perpetual holding subject to certain payments. Leasehold is a tenure for a term of years by lease.

†A Bill before either House is read a first time in order that the members may be enabled to see what it is like. In voting on the second reading members express an opinion whether or no they approve of its general principle. In committee it is discussed clause by clause, to give the House an opportunity of amending it in detail; and a vote is then taken on the third reading to see if the majority of the House approves of it in its amended form. It is then sent to the other House, where it goes through the same process.

their feelings on Parliament, even under the old system of voting. From one end of the country to the other a cry was heard of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The new House of Commons had an enormous Whig majority. The Reform Bill, slightly amended, was again brought in by Russell, to whom a seat in the Cabinet had been at last given. In the course of discussion in the Commons a clause, known as the Chandos clause, from the name of its proposer, was introduced, extending the franchise in counties to 50*l.* tenants at will. As these new voters would be afraid to vote against their landlords for fear of being turned out of their farms, the change was satisfactory to the Tories. Yet, after the Bill thus altered had passed the House of Commons, it was, on October 8, rejected by the House of Lords.

The news of the rejection of the Bill was received with a torrent of indignation. Meetings were everywhere held in support of the Government. In the House of Commons Macaulay—a young man afterwards the historian of the reigns of James II. and William III.—urged the ministry to persist in its course. "The public enthusiasm," he said, "is undiminished. Old Sarum has grown no bigger, Manchester has grown no smaller. . . . I know only two ways in which societies can be governed—by public opinion and by the sword. A government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of Great Britain might possibly hold Ireland by the sword; . . . but to govern Great Britain by the sword, so wild a thought has never occurred to any public man of any party. . . . In old times, when the villeins were driven to revolt by oppression, when a hundred thousand insurgents appeared in arms on Blackheath, the king rode up to them and exclaimed, 'I will be your leader,' and at once the infuriated multitude laid down their arms and dispersed at his command. Herein let us imitate him. Let us say to our countrymen 'We are your leaders. Our lawful power shall be firmly exerted to the utmost in your cause; and our lawful power is such that it must finally prevail.'" It

was a timely warning. Outside Parliament there were men who thought that nothing but force would bear down the resistance of the Lords. The Birmingham Political Union held a meeting at which those who were present engaged to pay no taxes if the Reform Bill were again rejected. At Bristol there were fierce riots in which houses were burnt and men killed.

On December 12, 1831, the Reform Bill was again, for a third time, brought into the House of Commons. On March 23, 1832, it was passed, and the Lords had then once more to consider it. On April 14 they passed the second reading. On May 7, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, who had been Chancellor in Wellington's ministry, they adopted a substantial alteration in it. The ministers at once asked the king to create fifty new peers to carry the Bill, in the same way that the address on the Treaty of Utrecht had been carried by the creation of twelve new peers in the reign of Anne. The king, who was getting frightened at the turmoil in the country, refused, and the ministers resigned. Wellington was ready to take office, giving his support to a less complete Reform Bill, but Peel refused to join him, and Lord Grey's Government was reinstated, receiving from the king a promise to create peers if necessary. On this Wellington, unwilling to see the House of Lords swamped by fresh creations, persuaded many of his friends to abstain from voting. The Bill met with no further obstacles, and, on June 7, became an Act of Parliament by the Royal Assent.

In its final shape, the Reform Act absolutely disfranchised forty-one boroughs and took away one member from thirty others. Thereby, and by its alteration of the franchise, it accomplished a great transference of power, in favour of the middle classes in the towns. Though it did not establish a democracy, it took a long step in that direction.

The advent of the middle classes to power was prepared by a series of material improvements by which they were especially benefited. The canals made in the beginning of

the reign of George III. no longer sufficed to carry the increased traffic of the country. Attention was therefore paid to the improvement of the roads. Telford, a Scotchman, taught road-makers that it was better to go round a hill than to climb over it, and, beginning in 1802, he was employed for eighteen years in improving the communications in Scotland and Wales by making good roads and iron bridges. The Menai suspension bridge, his best known work, was begun in 1819. He and another Scotchman, Macadam, also improved the surface of the roads, which had hitherto been made of gravel or flint, thrown down at random. Telford ordered the large stones to be broken and mixed with fine gravel, and Macadam pursued the same course round Bristol. He declared that no stone should ever be used in mending roads which was not small enough to go into a man's mouth. Through these improvements travelling became more easy, and coaches flew about the country at what was considered to be the wonderful rate of ten miles an hour.

The first application of steam to locomotion was in vessels. The first steamboat in Great Britain, "The Comet," the work of Henry Bell, plied on the Clyde in 1812, and though Fulton in America had made a steamboat in 1811, it is almost certain that he derived his ideas from Bell. It was not till later that a steam-engine was made to draw travellers and goods by land. Of many attempts, none succeeded till the matter was taken in hand by George Stephenson, the son of a poor collier in Northumberland. He had learnt something about machinery in the colliery in which he worked as a boy, and when he grew up he saved money to pay for instruction in reading and writing. He began as an engineer by mending a pumping-engine, and at last attempted to construct a locomotive. His new engine, constructed in 1814, was not successful at first, and it made such a noise that it was popularly known as "Puffing Billy." In 1816 he improved it sufficiently to enable it to draw trucks of coal on tramlines from the colliery to the river. At last, in 1825, the Stockton and Dar-

lington Railway was opened for the conveyance of passengers as well as goods, and both the line and the locomotive used on it were constructed under Stephenson's management. The new engine was able to draw ninety tons at the rate of eight miles an hour.

In 1825 it was resolved to make a railway between Liverpool and Manchester, and Stephenson was employed as the engineer. In 1829, when it was finished, the proprietors were frightened at the idea of employing steam-engines upon it, till Stephenson persuaded them to offer a prize for an improved locomotive. Four inventors, of whom Stephenson was one, sent in engines to compete. Stephenson's, which was called the "Rocket," was the only one which would move, and finally ran at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour. After that there was no doubt that Stephenson's was the only engine likely to be of any use. Unfortunately the experiment cost the life of a statesman. Huskisson, who had quarrelled with Wellington in 1828, seeing him in a railway carriage, stepped up to shake hands, when he was himself run over by the Rocket and killed.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMERS IN POWER

(1832-1839)

BEFORE the end of 1832 a Parliament met, in which the House of Commons was elected by the new constituencies created by the Reform Act. The Ministerialists were in an enormous majority, all of them anxious to make use of their victory by the introduction of practical reforms. There was, however, considerable difference amongst them as to the reforms desirable, the Radicals wishing to go much farther than the Whigs. To conceal, as far as possible, this difference, a new name—that of Liberals—was borrowed from Continental politicians, to cover the whole party. Their opponents, finding the name of Tories unpopular, began to call themselves Conservatives.

One of the first difficulties which the Government had to face was that of Irish tithes. Catholic emancipation had not made Ireland richer, and there was still in that country a superabundant population, in many parts scarcely able to live and at the same time meet the demands of their landlords and of the clergy of a Church which was not their own. There was no poor law in Ireland to give relief to the destitute, and many of the landlords were absentees. In 1831 and 1832 the payment of tithes was often refused, and the collectors were sometimes murdered. General outrages also increased in number, and in 1833, when an attempt was made by the Government to enforce the payment of tithes, only 12,000*l.* out of 104,000*l.* was recovered. The Government was divided as to the proper measures to be adopted. The Chief Secretary*—the min-

**I.e.*, the chief secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, but practically controlling him, as being responsible directly to Parliament, of which he is a member.

ister specially entrusted with Irish affairs—was Stanley, a man of great abilities and a fiery temper, who wished to accompany proposals of redress by strong measures for the coercion of those by whom the law was resisted. His policy was described as a “quick alternation of kicks and kindness.” On the other hand, O’Connell had begun to denounce the Union between Ireland and Great Britain and to ask for its repeal. In 1833 Stanley brought in a Bill for the trial of offenders in disturbed districts by courts-martial. As soon as this had been passed Althorp brought in another Bill to reduce the number of Irish bishops from twenty-two to twelve, and to tax the Irish clergy and apply the proceeds to the extinction of Church-cess, a rate levied to keep the church buildings in good condition. This Bill too became law, but only after the Government had dropped what was called the Appropriation Clause, which was to enable the Government to apply to general purposes the revenue obtained by diminishing the number of the bishops.

Stanley had made so many enemies in Ireland that it was thought advisable to remove him from his post. He became Colonial Secretary, and was at once confronted with the question of the abolition of slavery in British colonies. For some years Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Zachary Macaulay (the father of Macaulay the historian), had been pleading the cause of the slave. In the West Indies slaves were often subjected to brutal cruelty. To take a few instances: a little slave-girl, having dropped some cream belonging to her mistress, was scolded by her mother, a slave-woman named America. The master of both of them had America flogged with no less than 175 lashes for remonstrating with her own daughter, holding that, as the child was his property, she ought only to have been scolded by himself or his wife. Three slave-women were flogged for crying when their brothers were flogged. Another woman, whose brother was flogged for attending a dissenting chapel, was flogged merely for sighing. When Stanley came into office, new as he was to the details of

the subject, he mastered them in three weeks, and carried a Bill for the complete abolition of slavery, though leaving the former slaves apprentices to their late masters for twelve years. The purchase-money given by Great Britain to the slave-owners was 20,000,000*l*. The apprenticeship system was found unsatisfactory and was soon done away with.

The abolition of negro slavery was accompanied by an effort to lighten the sorrows of factory children who were kept at work in unwholesome air often for thirteen hours a day. Lord Ashley, who afterwards became Earl of Shaftesbury, took up their cause, and carried a Bill limiting the hours of labour for children under thirteen years to eight hours a day, and for children between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, though he would himself have preferred a stronger measure. This law was the beginning of a factory legislation which has done much to make England peaceable and contented.

The session of 1834 was occupied with a measure of a different kind. The Poor Law, as it existed, was a direct encouragement to thriftlessness. Relief was given to the poor at random, even when they were earning wages, so that employers of labour preferred to be served by paupers, because part of the wages would then be paid out of the rates. The more children a poor man had the more he received from the rates, and in this and in other ways labourers were taught that they would be better off by being dependent on the parish than by striving to make their own way in the world. The consequent increase of the rates had become unbearable to those who had to pay them; in one parish, for instance, rates which had been less than 11*l*. in 1801 had risen to 367*l*. in 1832. By the new Poor Law, passed in 1834, workhouses were built and no person was to receive relief who did not consent to live in one of them. The object of this rule was that no one might claim to be supported by others who was capable of supporting himself, and residence in the workhouse, where work would be required, was considered as the best test of real poverty,

because it was thought that no one would consent to go in unless he was really distressed. Afterwards it was remembered that in some cases, such as those of old people who could not work even if they had the will, no such test was required. The strict rule of the law was, therefore, subsequently relaxed, and outdoor relief granted in certain cases.

The ministry had by this time lost much of its popularity. Every piece of successful legislation alienated some of its supporters, and the rapidity of the changes effected by the reformed Parliament frightened many easy-going people. Peel, too, who led the Conservatives in the House of Commons, was growing in favour by the ability, and still more by the moderation, which he displayed. The ministers, too, disagreed amongst themselves. An open rupture occurred when Lord John Russell declared for the right of Parliament to appropriate the misused revenues of the Irish Church to other purposes. "Johnny," wrote Stanley to Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, "has upset the coach." Stanley, Graham, and Lord Ripon—who had formerly been known as Lord Gode-rich—resigned together. Further misunderstandings brought about the resignation of Grey, who had been an excellent Prime Minister as long as the Reform question was still unsettled, but who did not possess the qualities needed in the head of a divided Cabinet. He was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, and Melbourne contrived to keep his followers together for a few months. In November, however, Lord Althorp, who was the leader of the House of Commons, became Earl Spencer by his father's death, and it was therefore necessary to find a successor to him. The king, who had long been alienated from the Reformers, took advantage of the occasion to dismiss the ministry. It was the last time that a ministry was dismissed by a sovereign.

Whilst the home policy of the Reform ministry had been weakened by divisions in the Cabinet, its foreign policy had been in the strong hands of Lord Palmerston.

In 1830 the revolution at Paris had been followed by a revolution at Brussels, the object of which was not to procure internal reforms but to separate Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands, of which it had formed a part only since 1814. Lord Palmerston's policy was to forward the desire of the Belgians for independence and at the same time to hinder any attempt on the part of France to annex their territory. In this, with the assistance of Louis Philippe, the new king of the French, he completely succeeded. In 1831 Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, whose first wife had been the Princess Charlotte, was chosen by the Belgians as their king, and married one of the daughters of Louis Philippe. Though the Dutch resisted for a time, they were compelled to relinquish their hold on any part of Belgium. A French army captured from them the citadel of Antwerp and then retired to its own territory. The key-stone of Palmerston's policy was an alliance—not too trustful—between the constitutional monarchies of England and France, which was drawn the more tightly because the absolute government of Austria crushed all attempts at resistance in Italy, and the absolute government of Russia put down with great harshness an attempt made by Poland to assert her independence. To these two monarchies Prussia was a close ally, and Europe was thus divided into two camps, the absolute and the constitutional.

Sir Robert Peel, having been appointed Prime Minister by the king, dissolved Parliament. In an address to the electors of Tamworth, the borough for which he stood, he threw off the doctrines of the old Tories, professing himself to be a moderate but conservative reformer. This "Tamworth manifesto," as it was called, served his party in good stead. The Conservatives gained seat after seat, and it is probable that, if the king had had a little more patience and had allowed the ministry to fall to pieces of itself instead of dismissing it, the Conservatives would have been in a majority. As it was, though they had nearly half the House, they were still in a minority. When Parliament met, February 19, 1835, it had some difficulty in

finding temporary accommodation, as the old Houses of Parliament, in which the struggles of nearly three centuries had been conducted, had been burnt to the ground in the preceding October. Peel was outvoted from the beginning, but he insisted on bringing in his measures before he would retire, and, at all events, had the satisfaction of showing that he was capable of preparing good laws as well as of giving good advice. The Liberals, however, were too angry to adopt even good laws when proposed by a minister who had risen to power by the use of the king's prerogative. They entered into an agreement with O'Connell, known, from the place where its terms were settled, as the Lichfield House Compact, and, having thus secured, by the support of the Irish members, an undivided majority, they insisted on the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to purposes of education. They carried a succession of votes on this subject, and, on April 8, 1835, Peel resigned. He left behind him a general impression that he was the first statesman in the country.

Melbourne again became Prime Minister, and Russell Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. The first great work of the new ministry was the passing of a Municipal Corporation Bill, providing that corporations should be elected by the ratepayers, instead of being self-chosen as they frequently were. The Tories in the House of Lords, where they had a large majority, tried to introduce considerable alterations in it, but Peel threw them over and accepted the Bill with a few changes, so that it became law without further difficulty. Peel gained in credit by subordinating the interests of his party to those of the country, and the ministry consequently lost ground. Their weakness was exposed by the attitude which they were obliged to assume towards the Lords on another question. The Commons passed a Bill for placing Irish tithes upon the landlord instead of the tenant, adding the Appropriation Clause which they had formerly attempted to attach to the Bill for the reduction of the number of Bishops. The Lords threw out the clause, and the ministers then

withdrew the Bill. Attempts made in later years to get the Bill passed with the clause equally failed, and at last, in 1838, ministers ignominiously dropped the clause, upon which they passed the Bill through both Houses. A Government with the House of Commons and the nation at its back can in modern times defy the House of Lords. Melbourne's Government tried to defy it with the support of the House of Commons but without the support of the nation. Consequently, though some useful measures were passed, the Lords were able, in the teeth of the Government, to reject anything they disliked.

The one event of first-rate importance which occurred during the rule of the Melbourne cabinet was the death of King William IV. on June 20, 1837. His two daughters had died in infancy, so that the succession devolved on his niece, Alexandrina Victoria, the only child of his next brother, Edward, Duke of Kent. All through King William's reign the eyes of the nation had been eagerly fixed on this young princess, for her life was the only one which stood between the crown and her uncle, Ernest Duke of Cumberland, the most unpopular and worthless of the sons of George III. It was a great relief to the whole people to see her ascend the throne, at the age of eighteen, in health and vigour that gave every prospect of a long reign. Hanover, where the succession was entailed in the male line, passed away to the Duke of Cumberland, who made himself as much disliked there as he had been in England. The Electorate had been united to the English crown for 123 years; its separation was an unqualified benefit, for it had perpetually involved Great Britain in countless problems of continental policy in which we had no real concern.

The admirable sovereign who but lately wore the crown of the United Kingdom, after a reign unparalleled for length and prosperity among all the annals of her predecessors, was little known to her subjects in 1837. She had been brought up very simply—almost, indeed, in seclusion—by her mother, Victoria of Coburg, the Dowager-duchess of Kent, who had been determined that she should not court

any of the invidious popularity that comes to heirs-apparent who show themselves too conspicuously during their predecessors' lifetime. But as her people came to know her, they recognized that they were fortunate in possessing the most blameless ruler that Great Britain has ever seen, the pattern and model for all constitutional sovereigns that ever wore a crown. She was conspicuously free from all the hereditary faults of her family; simple in her tastes, straightforward in act and speech, full of consideration for others, always striving to do her duty as a sovereign and a woman, she soon won and always retained her subjects' esteem and admiration.

Her personal character was not the least among the influences which have led to a general rise in the morals of English society during her reign. Married four years after her accession to her cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, she gave the world an example of perfect domestic happiness, combined with the unrenmitting discharge of public duties. To those who remembered the court of George IV., the change made in a few years was astonishing. If there was ever any chance in the first quarter of the century that the monarchy might go down before the incoming flood of democratic ideas, the queen's character and conduct soon averted the danger. Nor can this meed of praise be denied to her husband, who discharged with rare self-restraint the difficult function of a Prince Consort. In spite of the vague distrust with which he was at first regarded, owing to his foreign birth, he showed that he was able to adapt himself to English political ideas and usages. In spite of many temptations, he never made himself a party man or allowed his name to be used for party purposes.

The change of reign, therefore, had no appreciable effect on the fortunes of the Melbourne ministry. If at first a few bigoted Tories grumbled that the young queen might become a tool in the hands of the Whigs, they were soon undeceived. The main difficulties of the Melbourne cabinet sprang from the fact that the majority which they

commanded in the House of Commons was very small, except when it was reinforced by O'Connell and his "tail," as the horde of not very respectable satellites whom he brought to Westminster was often called. At a pinch the Irish would vote with the government to keep out the Tories, but in ordinary times they preferred to worry it, in order to make their power felt, and to screw "Repeal," if possible, out of the Whigs. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the days of the Melbourne cabinet were singularly unmarked by legislation of any kind, good or bad. The only really important measure which was passed was one to redeem Lord Grey's pledge of 1834 on the matter of the Irish tithe, from which the Roman Catholic peasantry were now wholly relieved—the payment being transferred to their landlords, who were mainly members of the Established Church.

The most marked feature of the years 1835-41 in the internal history of England was the fruitless "Chartist" agitation. Though it took a political shape, this movement was really social in its character. It was caused by the disappointment felt by the labouring masses at the small profit which they had got out of the passage of the Reform Bill and the advent of the Whigs to office. They had vaguely believed that a millennium of prosperity would follow the purification of the House of Commons. When disappointed in this, they did not take warning, and reflect that the possession of political rights does not necessarily bring happiness or prosperity in its train. The demagogues who led them persuaded themselves that all would go well if only further reforms on more democratic lines were carried out. They therefore drew up the "People's Charter," from which their followers became known as Chartists; it demanded six concessions from the government: (1) universal suffrage was to replace the £10 household suffrage introduced in 1832; (2) voting was to be by ballot; (3) members of Parliament were to receive a salary; (4) all the existing boroughs and counties were to be recast into electoral districts of equal population; (5)

no qualification of property was to be required from members of parliament; (6) parliaments were to be annual, instead of sitting for seven years. If all these demands had been granted in a lump, they would not have really done anything towards helping the Chartists to higher wages or shorter hours of work, which were in reality the aims for which they were ready to fight. An outspoken popular speaker put the case clearly when he declared in 1838 that "the principle of the Charter means that every working man in the land has the right to a good coat, a good hat, a good dinner, no more work than will keep him in health, and as much wages as will keep him in plenty." Practically, in spite of its purely political form, the Chartist agitation was only an earlier shape of the demand for the "living wage" of which we hear so much to-day.

Of the six points of the Charter, the second, fourth, and fifth have been practically conceded for many years; the first is not far from completion since 1884, when all householders and most lodgers were enfranchised. No one can seriously suppose that the payment of members would revolutionize the character of parliament, and it is now universally conceded that annual dissolutions and general elections would be an unqualified nuisance. Yet over this programme, perfectly incapable of producing the social benefits which were desired, the masses of the great manufacturing towns expended a vast amount of sound and fury between the years 1838 and 1848. They never had any leaders of weight or note, capable of guiding them with firmness and keeping them out of mischief. Hence they soon turned to aimless and destructive rioting, and thereby caused the whole middle class to rally round the government and determine that the "Charter" should on no account be conceded. In a riot at Birmingham in 1839, the damage done was so wanton and malicious, that the Duke of Wellington declared that it exceeded anything that he had seen in the towns carried by assault during the Peninsular War. At Newport, in Monmouthshire, a mob of five thousand Welsh miners armed with scythes and fowling-

pieces seized the town, and had to be fired on by the soldiery. Such scenes made any further democratic reforms impossible, and though the Chartists kept bombarding parliament with monster petitions for the next nine years, no government, Whig or Tory, showed the least signs of listening to their threats. When they grew very violent in 1848, under the influence of news of revolutions on the Continent, 200,000 special constables appeared in the streets of London to aid the armed forces of the crown, and the Chartist meetings collapsed ignominiously.

The Melbourne government went out in August, 1841, and the Tory party, after eleven years of powerlessness, were once more in office. Under their new leader, Sir Robert Peel, they were a very different body from their ancestors of the days before the Reform Bill. Their wish to break with the reactionary traditions of Addington and Castlereagh is shown by the fact that they had now adopted the new name of "Conservatives." Their programme was no longer unintelligent resistance to all change, and while opposing the violent designs of the Chartists and the Irish, they were quite willing to adopt cautious measures of advance in both constitutional and social legislation. The party, in fact, was led by chiefs who represented the Canningite Tories of 1828, and who were no longer divided by any very wide gulf from their Whig opponents. It was the same with the bulk of their adherents: the Chartists had frightened the middle classes into the Conservative ranks by tens of thousands. The feeble Melbourne government had entirely failed to keep together the great army which had won the victory of the Reform Bill. Peel himself was a commanding figure, more fitted to lead a great party than any statesman who had appeared since the death of William Pitt. He was the son of a wealthy Lancashire manufacturer, not one of the old ring of Tory landholders. His enlightened views on social and economic questions made him popular with the middle classes. In his foreign policy he was as firm as his rival Palmerston. As a financier and an administrator he was unrivalled in

his age—finance, indeed, had always been the weak point of the Whigs. He was perhaps a little autocratic and impatient with the slower and more antiquated members of his party, but no one could have foreseen in 1841 that his rule was not to be a long one, and that he was ultimately destined to break up, not to consolidate, the Conservative party.

His firm rule kept down the Chartists, and caused the final collapse of the "Repeal" movement in Ireland. O'Connell had been promising his countrymen Home Rule for many years and with most eloquent verbosity, but they grew tired when all his talk ended in nothing. The installation in office of a Tory government with a crushing majority in the Commons, left him no chance of using the votes of his "tail" to any effect. He had always set his face against insurrection and outrage, and when peaceful means became obviously useless to attain his end, both he and his followers fell into a state of depression. The Peel government did not take his agitation too seriously: he was arrested for treasonable language used at a monster meeting at Tara in 1843, but the House of Lords reversed his condemnation on a technical point, and no further proceedings were taken against him. But his following broke up, the majority sinking into apathy, while the minority resolved to appeal, in the old fashion of 1798, to armed insurrection—a method even more hopeless for gaining their end than monster meetings. But it was not till five years later that they made their attempt.

Meanwhile, Peel passed many admirable laws for the benefit of the working classes. His Mines Acts (1842) prohibited the labour of women and children underground; his Factory Acts (1844) restricted the employment of the young in factories, and appointed inspectors to see to their sanitation and safety. He also set right the finances of the kingdom, which Lord Melbourne had left in a very unsatisfactory state, and did much for the introduction of Free-trade in commerce. In one year he reduced the im-

port duties on no less than 750 articles of daily use, ranging from live cattle and eggs to hemp and timber. The loss in revenue this caused he made up by imposing an Income Tax, which he promised to abolish at an early date. He lost office ere the time came, and his successors have never made very serious efforts to redeem his pledge.

The state of Canada at this time caused great difficulties to the ministry. Upper and Lower Canada were independent colonies, the population of the former being almost entirely British, and the population of the latter being preponderantly French. In both there were loud complaints of the jobbery and misconduct of the Home Government, but the constitutional arrangements were such that in neither colony was the popularly elected Legislative Assembly able to influence the action of the colonial government, by which the Home Government was represented. The feeling in Lower Canada was particularly bitter, as the French, who were attached to their own ways, resented the pushing, self-satisfied behaviour of English settlers who came amongst them. The Colonial Secretary in England, Lord Glenelg, was not enough of a statesman to find a satisfactory remedy for the grievances of the colonists, and in 1837 a rebellion burst out which was, indeed, suppressed, but which alarmed the Home Government sufficiently to induce it to send Lord Durham out as Commissioner, with full powers to arrange all difficulties, so far as he could do so in accordance with the law. Lord Durham was the ablest man of the Liberal party, but he had no tact, and was excessively self-willed. On his arrival in Canada in 1838, he transported to Bermuda eight persons connected with the rebellion, and ordered that fifteen persons who had left the colony should be put to death if they came back. As both these orders were illegal the Home Government recalled him, but they took his advice after his return, and joined together the two colonies, at the same time altering the constitution so as to give control over the executive to the Legislative Assembly. The union between

the colonies, which was intended to prevent the French of Lower Canada having entirely their own way in their own colony, was proposed in 1839 and finally proclaimed in 1841. The new arrangements gave satisfaction to both colonies for the time.

CHAPTER V

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

(1835-1841)

THE condition of Ireland under the Melbourne Government was much improved, and its improvement was due to the ability and firmness of Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary. Hitherto the Orangemen, including in their ranks many magistrates, had had it all their own way in the North, where Catholics, whom they chose to oppress, seldom met with justice. Drummond did his best to enforce the law equally in all parts of Ireland, not only between Protestants and Catholics, but also between landlord and tenant. He thereby exasperated the landlords, whose ideas of right and wrong had hitherto been entirely shared by the Government. On the other hand, he so thoroughly won for himself the goodwill of the Irish Catholics, that O'Connell laid aside for a time the cry for the repeal of the Union which he had raised under Lord Grey's ministry. One element of Irish discontent was beyond the power of any government wholly to remove. So rapid was the increase of the population as to bring with it great poverty, and some landlords, finding their rents unpaid, solved the difficulty by evicting the tenants who were unable or unwilling to pay. As there was no poor law in Ireland the evicted tenant had seldom anything but starvation before him, and he often revenged himself by outrages and even by murder. In a celebrated letter to the magistrates of Tipperary Drummond announced that "Property has its duties as well as its rights," reminding them that in part, at least, the misery in Ireland had arisen from their unsympathetic treatment of their tenants. The magistrates were so angry that they suppressed the letter

for a time. In 1838 a Poor Law for Ireland was passed to enable some relief to be given to those who were in danger of starvation, and, in the same year, a Tithe Act became law without the Appropriation Clause, upon which the ministers had hitherto insisted, thus removing one of the chief causes of conflict in Ireland by enacting that tithes should be levied on the landowner and not on the tenant.

Though Lord Melbourne's government had addressed itself with ability to the solution of most of the questions of the day, it had no longer any popular sentiment behind it, and was obliged to submit without resistance to the mutilation or rejection of its measures by the House of Lords. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spring Rice, who was a poor financier, had to announce, without venturing to provide a remedy, that the national expenditure was greater than the national income. The mere fact that the Government found itself baffled, weakened it both in Parliament and in the nation; and accordingly, in 1839, the Government resigned. Though Peel, who was summoned to succeed Melbourne, had no difficulty in forming a ministry, he was afraid of the influence which the Ladies of the Bedchamber exercised over the young queen, and asked that the sisters and wives of members of the late Government who held that post should be dismissed. The queen, being unwilling to part with her old friends, refused to dismiss them, and Peel then declined to form a ministry. Melbourne returned to office hoping to be more popular than before, as the sympathy of the country was on the side of the queen.

One piece of reform was only unwillingly accepted by the re-instated ministers. One day the poet Coleridge passed a cottage in the north of England as a postman arrived with a letter. A girl came out, looked at the letter, and returned it to the postman. In those days the payment for postage was high, a shilling or two being an ordinary charge, the postage rising according to the distance. The receiver, not the sender of the letter, had to pay for it. Coleridge felt compassion for the girl and paid



DANIEL O'CONNELL
(Born 1775. Died 1847)

for the letter. As soon as the postman was out of hearing the girl told him that she was sorry that he had given so much money for a letter which had nothing written inside it. She then explained that her brother had gone to London and had promised that, as she was too poor to pay postage, he would, at stated intervals of time, address to her a blank sheet of paper, which she would have to return to the postman, but the sight of which would let her know that he was in good health. Coleridge told this story to Rowland Hill, an officer in the Post Office, who thought it over and asked the Government to reduce the postage on letters between all places in Great Britain and Ireland to a penny. The change, he declared, would be a great boon to the poor, and also in time increase instead of diminishing the revenue of the Government, as the number of letters written would be enormously greater than it had been under the old system. As, in consequence of the large increase of letters carried, the postman would no longer have time to collect the pennies from the receivers, it would be necessary to charge them upon the senders, and this, Rowland Hill thought, could be done most conveniently by making them buy postage stamps, which had been before unknown. For some time the Post-Office officials and the ministers laughed at the scheme, but public opinion rose in its favour, and, in 1839, the adoption of the new system was ordered, though it did not come into complete force till 1840, up to which time there was a uniform charge of fourpence. The system of low payments and postage stamps has since been adopted by every country in the civilised world.

At the time of the Reform Act general education was at a low ebb. In 1833 Parliament for the first time gave assistance to education by granting 20,000*l.* annually towards the building of school-houses. In 1839 this grant was increased to 30,000*l.*, and its distribution was placed under the direction of a Committee of the Privy Council, called the "Committee of the Privy Council on Education," in whose hands the management of public instruc-

tion has rested ever since. The Committee was not to teach, but to see that, where public money was employed, the teaching was satisfactory.

The policy of friendship between England and France, which had led to the establishment of Belgian independence, had been continued by Lord Palmerston during the early stages of the second Melbourne ministry. Ferdinand VII. of Spain had for some time before his death in 1833 hesitated whether he should declare as his successor his little daughter Isabella—who, according to old Spanish law, was capable of inheriting—or his brother, Don Carlos, who claimed in virtue of the so-called Salic law introduced by the Bourbons. On the side of Don Carlos were the priests, on the side of the child was her mother, and the dying man listened in the end to his wife rather than to the priests. Isabella became queen, and her mother, Christina, regent. The Basque Provinces and the priests and absolutists all over Spain took the side of Don Carlos, and a civil war marked by horrible cruelties on both sides was the result. As Don Carlos declared himself an absolute king, Christina was obliged, in word at least, to profess herself a constitutionalist. Louis Philippe and Palmerston would not interfere directly, but they agreed to interfere indirectly on behalf of Christina and Isabella: Louis Philippe by cutting off the supplies from the Carlists, Palmerston by allowing a British legion of 10,000 men to be enlisted for service against them. The legion fought well, but the Spanish Government did little for it, and it was dissolved in 1838. The habit of interfering in Spanish quarrels led to a habit of interfering in Spanish politics, and as France and England often took opposite sides in supporting or assailing Spanish ministries, there gradually sprang up an unfortunate coolness between the two. Ultimately, in 1839, the Carlists were overpowered, and there was no further question of foreign interference.

The results of the interference of England in the East were more momentous than the results of her interference

in Spain. In 1831 Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, sent Ibrahim to attack the Pasha of Acre. Ibrahim, against whom the Sultan, Mahmoud, sent a Turkish army in 1832, not only defeated the Turks at Konieh, the ancient Iconium, but crossed the Taurus Mountains into Asia Minor and overthrew the last army which the Sultan could muster. Mahmoud, knowing that Constantinople itself was now at the mercy of the Egyptians, called on the Tzar, his old enemy, for aid. Accordingly, in 1833, an arrangement was made at Kutaya by which Mehemet Ali stopped hostilities on receiving all Syria and the province of Adana in addition to his own Pashalic. Later in the same year, in reward for Russia's support, the Sultan signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which he bound himself to the Tzar to close the Dardanelles to foreign war-ships whenever the Tzar was at war. If this treaty took effect the Russians would be able to train their sailors unmolested in the Black Sea, whilst they would be able to send their fleet out through the Dardanelles, and to bring it back to a place of safety whenever they pleased. Both England and France disliked this arrangement, but while Palmerston thought that the best remedy was the strengthening of the power of the Sultan, the French Government thought it better to strengthen Mehemet Ali, as being a more capable ruler than Mahmoud. In coming to this conclusion the French were no doubt influenced by the fact that Mehemet Ali employed many Frenchmen in his service. In 1839 the war between the Turks and the Egyptians broke out again, and neither England nor France could remain entirely unconcerned.

The war was disastrous to the Turks. The army of the Sultan was routed at Nisib. Sultan Mahmoud died before he heard the news, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid. The Turkish admiral at once sailed off with the fleet under his command, and handed it over at Alexandria to Mehemet Ali. Palmerston insisted that the Egyptians must be driven back, and in 1840, Russia, abandoning the advantages she had gained by the Treaty of

Unkiar Skelessi, joined England, Austria, and Prussia in a quadruple Treaty, with the object of enforcing suitable terms on the belligerents. France, left out of the treaty, was deeply exasperated. There was wild talk of avenging Waterloo and reconquering the frontier of the Rhine. The French Prime Minister, Thiers, made every preparation for war. A British admiral, Sir Charles Napier, however, joined by an Austrian squadron, captured Acre, and Mehemet Ali abandoned Syria, receiving from the Sultan in return the hereditary government of Egypt, which he had hitherto held only for his own lifetime. Louis Philippe dismissed Thiers, and placed in office Guizot, a sworn foe to revolutionary projects and revolutionary wars. In 1841 all the powers, including Russia, substituted for the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi an agreement by which the Dardanelles was closed against the war ships of all nations unless the Sultan himself was at war. Time was thus allowed to the Turks to show whether they were capable, as Palmerston thought they were, of reforming their own government.

The Reform Act of 1832 had brought into power the middle classes, and had been followed by such legislation as was satisfactory to those classes. Little had been done for the artisans and the poor, and their condition was most deplorable. A succession of bad seasons raised the price of wheat from a little over 39s. a quarter in 1835 to a little over 70s. in 1839. Even if food had been cheap the masses dwelling in great cities were exposed to misery against which the law afforded no protection. Crowded and dirty as many of the dwellings of the poor still are, their condition was far worse early in the reign of Victoria. In Manchester, for instance, one-tenth of the population lived in cellars. Each of these cellars was reached through a small area, to which steps descended from a court, often flooded with stagnating filth. A person standing in one of these areas would, according to the statement of a contemporary writer, "have his head about one foot

below the level of the street, and might, at the same time, without the least motion of his body, touch the window of the cellar and the damp, muddy wall right opposite." The cellar itself was dark, filled with a horrible stench. Here a whole family lived in a single room, the children lying on the "damp, nay, wet, brick floor through which the stagnant moisture" oozed up. In Bethnal Green and other parts of the east end of London things were quite as bad. Overcrowding added to the horrors of such a life. One small cellar, measuring four yards by five, contained two rooms and eight persons, sleeping four in a bed. In some parts of the country similar evils prevailed. In one parish in Dorset thirty-six persons dwelt, on an average, in each house. All modesty was at an end under these miserable conditions. In one case—and the case was common enough—a father and mother with their married daughter and her husband, a baby, a boy of sixteen, and two girls, all slept in a single room. People living in such a way were sure to be ignorant and vicious. They were badly paid, and even for their low wages were very much at the mercy of their employers. In spite of the law against "truck," as it was called, employers often persisted in paying their men in goods charged above their real prices instead of in money. In one instance a man was obliged to take a piece of cloth worth only 11s. in payment of his wages of 35s.

The middle classes were not likely to be tolerant of violence and disorder, but there was one point on which their interests coincided with those of the working men. The high price of corn not only caused sufferings amongst the poor, but also injured trade. This high price was to a great extent owing to the Corn Law, which had been amended from time to time since it was passed in 1815, and which continued to make corn dear by imposing heavy duties on imported corn whenever there was a good harvest in England, with the view of protecting the agriculturists against low prices. In 1838 an Anti-Corn-Law League

was formed at Manchester in which the leading men were Richard Cobden, a master of clear and popular reasoning, whose knowledge of facts relating to the question was exhaustive, and John Bright, whose simple diction and stirring eloquence appealed to the feelings and the morality of his audience. In 1839, Charles Villiers, who took the lead of the Corn Law repealers in the House of Commons, was beaten by 342 votes to 195, but he had amongst his supporters Russell, Palmerston, and most of the prominent members of the Government. It was evident, however, that some time must elapse before a change so great could be accomplished, as the proposal was offensive to the agriculturists, who formed the main strength of the Conservative party. Moreover, the proposal to put an end to the Corn Law had still to make its way, by dint of argument, with the trading and working classes who were interested in abolition.

The middle classes had grievances of their own against the ministry. They disliked financial disorder as well as physical violence, and, though the ministry had put down the latter, they had encouraged the former. Every year showed a deficit, and whilst the produce of the taxes was falling, the expenditure was increasing. In 1841 the ministry made an heroic effort to deal with the mischief by a movement in the direction of freedom of trade, proposing that there should be a fixed 8s. duty on every quarter of imported corn, whatever its price in England might be, in the place of the sliding scale varying with the price which had been adopted in 1822. Peel opposed them on the ground that they had shown themselves too incompetent as financiers to be entrusted with the working of so large a scheme. The ministry was defeated in the House of Commons, and, after a dissolution, a new House was returned in which the Conservatives were in a majority of ninety-one. The discredited Melbourne ministry resigned, and Peel had no difficulty in forming a new ministry. There was no longer any difficulty about the Ladies of the

Bedchamber. Now that the queen was married and in full enjoyment of the society of a husband whom she loved and trusted, she no longer objected to abandon the company of the Whig ladies whom, in 1839, she had refused to dismiss.

CHAPTER VI

FREE TRADE

(1841-1852)

IN his new ministry Peel found room not only for leading Conservatives, but also for Stanley, Graham, and Ripon, who had left the Whigs in 1834, and had since then voted with the Conservatives. Stanley—now Lord Stanley—and Graham were amongst the ablest of the ministers who formed the Cabinet; though the help of a young minister, Gladstone, who was not a member of the Cabinet, was especially valuable on account of his grasp of economical truths, and of the clearness with which his opinions were set forth.

Peel's first great Budget was that of 1842. He put an end to the deficit by carrying a measure re-imposing, for three years, an income-tax similar to that which Pitt had imposed to carry on the great war with France. He justified his action on the plea that it was necessary, in the first place, to stop the constantly recurring deficit; and, in the second place, to effect financial reforms which would enlarge the resources of the government. He consequently lowered many duties the main object of which had been the protection of home manufactures or agriculture. So far as the corn duties were concerned, he modified the sliding scale, but refused to effect any distinct reduction. The advocates of free-trade thought he had done too little, and those of protection thought he had done too much.

During the next two years, 1843 and 1844, Peel's budgets were not remarkable, as he did not wish to take any further step of importance till he had had time to watch the result of the budget of 1842. The experience gained at the end of three years was in every way favourable, as

it showed that manufactures really flourished more now than they had to face competition than they had done in its absence. No doubt the return of prosperity was partly owing to the good harvest which followed Peel's accession to power, but it was also in a great measure owing to his policy.

It would be of little worth to encourage manufactures, if those by whose labour they were produced were to be a miserable, vicious, and stunted population. In 1842, a commission, appointed to examine into the condition of mines, reported that women and even young children were forced to drag heavy trucks underground, sometimes for twelve hours a day. Lord Ashley, foremost in every good work, and who had already alleviated the lot of factory children, induced Parliament to pass a bill which was not all that he wished, but which enacted that no woman or child under ten should be employed under ground, and that no child between ten and thirteen should be employed for more than three days a week. In 1844, Graham passed an Act prohibiting the employment of children under nine in cotton and silk mills; but it was not till 1847 that, after a long struggle conducted by Lord Ashley, an Act was passed prohibiting the employment of women and children in all factories for more than ten hours a day. The arguments employed in favour of confining these restrictions to women and children were that they could not take care of themselves as well as men, and also that injuries done by overwork to the health of mothers and of young people, seriously affect the health and strength of future generations.

The fall of the Melbourne ministry had been caused nearly as much by its foreign as by its domestic policy. Though Lord Palmerston had succeeded in getting his way in the East without bringing on a war with France, sober people were afraid lest he might sooner or later provoke war by his violent self-assertion. Peel's foreign minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, was always ready to give up something in order to secure the blessing of peace. In 1842 he

put an end to a long dispute with the United States about the frontier between the English colonies and the State of Maine on the eastern side of America; and in 1846 he put an end to another dispute about the frontier of Oregon on the western side. With France, where Guizot was now Prime Minister, his relations were excessively cordial, and a close understanding grew up between the two governments, assuring the maintenance of European peace. The *entente cordiale*, as it was called, was ratified in 1843 by a visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe, at Eu, and by a return visit paid by Louis Philippe to the Queen at Windsor in 1844. These friendly relations enabled Aberdeen and Guizot to settle amicably a dispute arising out of the conduct of an English Consul at Tahiti, which might very easily have led to war.

Each successive ministry was confronted with the problem of Irish government, and soon after Peel came into office the cry for the Repeal of the Union, which had died away during the Melbourne government, was once more loudly raised. In 1843, O'Connell, instigated by younger men, such as Thomas Davis and Gavan Duffy, pushed the movement on, and predicted that Repeal would be carried before the year was over. He summoned a monster meeting at Clontarf, but before the appointed day the government prohibited the meeting and poured troops into Ireland to enforce the prohibition. O'Connell shrank from causing useless bloodshed, and advised his followers to keep away from the place of gathering. Though no attempt was made to hold the meeting, O'Connell was charged with sedition and conspiracy. Being convicted by a jury from which all Roman Catholics were excluded, he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a heavy fine. There were, however, technical errors in the proceedings, and the judgment was reversed in his favour by the House of Lords, or rather by the five lawyers who had seats in the House of Lords, and who alone decided legal appeals in the name of that House. Partly in consequence of the hopelessness of resisting the government, partly in consequence

of the satisfaction felt in Ireland at the reversal of the judgment against O'Connell, the demand for Repeal once more died away, and the Irish leader, whose health was breaking, retired from public life, living quietly till his death at Genoa in 1847.

The main source of mischief in Ireland was to be found in the relations between landlord and tenant. Evictions on the one hand were answered by murder and outrage on the other. To check the latter, Peel in 1843 passed an amended Arms Act, forbidding the possession of arms except by special license, whilst, to check the former, he issued, in 1844, a commission, of which the Earl of Devon was chairman, to inquire into the grievances of Irish tenants. In 1845 he raised, amidst a storm of obloquy from many English Protestants, the government grant to the College of Maynooth, in which Roman Catholics were educated for the priesthood, from 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.*, and established three Queen's Colleges to give unsectarian education to the laity. In 1845, the Devon Commission reported that in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught the landlords were in most cases unable to make improvements on their land because the law prevented them from borrowing money on the security of their estates; and that they frequently let their lands to middlemen, who let it out again to tenants at will. Improvements, if made at all, were usually made by the tenant at will, though he was liable to be turned out of his holding without any compensation for what he had done to increase the value of the estate. The consequence was that the tenant rarely made any improvement at all, and that, when he did, he frequently either had his holding taken from him, or had his rent raised in consequence of his own improvements. In Ulster, on the other hand, there had grown up a custom of tenant rights, and when a tenant left he received compensation for his improvements from the incoming tenant who took his place. In 1845, the government, finding that Ulster was peaceful whilst the other provinces were not, came to the conclusion that the Ulster tenant-right made

the difference between them, and brought in a bill securing a limited amount of compensation to those tenants who made improvements duly certified to be of value. The House of Lords, however, refused to pass it, and for many years no further effort was made to improve the condition of the Irish tenant.

Peel was more successful in dealing with England. When in 1845 the three years for which the income-tax had been granted came to an end, Peel, instead of remitting it, obtained leave from Parliament to continue it for three more years; though, as a matter of fact, it was subsequently re-imposed and is still levied to this day. Peel, having received a surplus, employed it to sweep away a vast number of duties upon imports which weighed upon trade, and to lower other duties which he did not sweep away; whilst at the same time he put an entire end to all duties on exports. The country gentlemen who formed the large majority of Peel's supporters took alarm at a proposal made by him to remove the duties on lard and hides, on the ground that if this were done foreigners would, in regard to these two articles, be enabled to compete with English produce.

The country gentlemen could grumble, but they were no match for Peel in debate; and they were therefore in a mood to transfer their allegiance to any man capable of heading an opposition in Parliament to the statesman whom they had hitherto followed. Such a spokesman they found in a young member, Benjamin Disraeli, who, after attempting to enter Parliament as a Radical, had been elected as a Conservative. His change of opinion was greater in appearance than in reality, as his principal motive, both as a Radical and as a Conservative, was hostility to the tendencies of the middle classes which he held to be embodied in the Whigs. He now discovered that the same tendencies were also embodied in Peel. Disraeli, indeed, never grasped the meaning of those doctrines of political economy which were in favour with the Whigs, and were growing in favour with Peel, and being moreover

a man of great ambition, he seized the occasion to place himself at the head of the malcontent Conservatives, with the less difficulty because, in giving expression to their ignorance, he did not fling away any settled conviction of his own. He was the more angry with Peel because Peel had refused him office. Fixing upon Peel's weak point, his want of originality, he declared that the Prime Minister, having caught the Whigs bathing, had walked away with their clothes, and that under him a Conservative government was "an organised hypocrisy."

In the meanwhile, the Anti-Corn-Law League was growing in influence. The oratory of Bright and the close reasoning of Cobden were telling even on the agricultural population. The small farmers and the labourers were suffering whilst the manufacturers were flourishing. Peel, indeed, was a free-trader on principle. He believed that legislation ought to make goods cheap for the sake of consumers rather than dear for the sake of producers, and at this time he even believed that the nation would be wealthier if corn fell in price by being freely imported than if its price was raised by the imposition of duties. He still held, however, that it was the duty of Parliament to keep up the price of corn, not for the benefit of the existing generation, but as an insurance for future generations. If Great Britain came to depend for a great part of her food-supply upon foreign countries, an enemy in time of war would have little difficulty in starving out the country by cutting off its supply of foreign food. The only answer to this was, that the starvation which Peel dreaded in the future was existing in the present. It was easy to say that the corn laws encouraged the production of food at home to support the population. As a plain matter of fact, the population had increased so rapidly that starvation was permanently established in the country. "I be protected," said an agricultural labourer at a meeting of the League, "and I be starving." If anything occurred to bring home to Peel the existence of this permanent starvation, he would become a free-trader in corn as well as in manufactures.

The conviction which Peel needed came from Ireland. The population was 8,000,000, and half of this number subsisted on potatoes alone. In the summer of 1845, a potato disease, previously unknown, swept over both islands. Potato plants, green and flourishing at night, were in the morning a blackened and fetid mass of corruption. A misfortune which in England and Scotland was a mere inconvenience, caused abject misery in Ireland.

Peel saw that if the starving millions were to be fed, corn must be cheapened as much as possible, and that the only way of cheapening it was to take off the duty. In October he asked the Cabinet to support him in taking off the duty. The majority in it had minds less flexible than his own, and its decision was postponed. In November, Russell, now the leader of the Liberals, wrote what was known as "the Edinburgh letter" to his constituents, declaring for the complete abolition of the Corn Law. Peel again attempted to induce the Cabinet to follow him, but the Cabinet again refused, and on December 5 he resigned office. Russell, however, was unable to form a ministry, and on December 20 Peel returned to office pledged to repeal the Corn Law. Lord Stanley now resigned, and became the acknowledged head of the Protectionists, who resolved to oppose Peel's forthcoming measure. On the other hand, Russell gave assurances that he and the Whigs would loyally support it. Accordingly, when Parliament met in January 1846, Peel proposed to bring in a Bill for the abolition of the Corn Law, though three years were to pass before the abolition would be quite complete. On June 25, the Bill, having previously passed the Commons, passed the Lords, and an end was at last put to the long-continued attempt to raise by artificial means the price of bread.

Peel had done what he could to mitigate the distress in Ireland. He sent Indian corn there to be sold cheaply, and he ordered the establishment of public works to give means of subsistence to the starving population. The old antagonism between landlord and tenant, however, had not

ceased, and evicted tenants and those who sympathised with them still had recourse to outrages and murder. Peel brought in a Bill for the protection of life in Ireland. Russell and the Liberals disliked it because it was too stringent. The Protectionists in the House of Commons, led nominally by Lord George Bentinck and really by Disraeli, were glad of any opportunity to defeat Peel, and on June 25, the day on which the Corn Bill passed the Lords, the Irish Bill was thrown out by the Commons. On the 27th Peel resigned office.

Lord John Russell had no difficulty this time in forming a ministry, and though his followers were in a minority in the House of Commons, he was sure of the support of Peel and of the Peelites, as those Conservatives were called who had voted with their leader for the abolition of the Corn Law. Russell had in 1846 to face a state of things in Ireland even more deplorable than that which had compelled his predecessor in 1845 to abandon Protection. In 1846, the failure of the potato crop was even more complete than it had been in 1845, and at the same time it was found that the system of public works established by Peel had led to gross abuses. Thousands of men who applied to mend the roads made them worse instead of better, whilst they neglected opportunities of working for private persons, because the public authorities exacted less work and gave higher pay than the private employer. Russell did what was possible to check these abuses, and in the session of 1847 he passed a Bill for enabling the guardians to give outdoor relief, which they had been forbidden to do by the Act which in 1838 established a Poor Law. Such a change in the law was imperatively demanded, as in the existing poor-houses there was only room for three out of every hundred starving persons.

No poor law, however, could do more than mitigate the consequences of famine, especially as the slow forms of parliamentary procedure delayed the remedy, and as those who had to administer the new law were interested rather in keeping rates down than in saving life. The misery

was too widespread to be much allayed by any remedy, and such English charity as was added to the relief provided by law was almost as ineffectual. Thousands perished by starvation, and many thousands more emigrated to America, many of them perishing on board ship from disease engendered in bodies enfeebled by previous want of nourishment. Those who reached America preserved and handed down to their children a hatred of the English name and government, to which they attributed their sufferings. By starvation and emigration the population of Ireland fell from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000.

Russell was statesman enough to perceive that the legal relations between landlord and tenant needed alteration, if the deep-seated causes of Irish misery were to be removed. Many of the landlords were hopelessly in debt. Out of a gross rental of 17,000,000*l.* 9,000,000*l.* was mortgaged, and the remaining 8,000,000*l.* was insufficient to provide for the support of the starving poor and to meet the expenses of the landlords. Impoverished landlords were consequently tempted to bear hardly on their tenants. Improvements in the English sense were few, but it often happened that a poor tenant on a wild hillside would erect a fence or clear off the stones from his rough farm, thus making it more productive than before. In too many cases the landlord, or more often the landlord's agent when the landlord was an absentee, pounced down on the struggling improver, and either forced him to pay a higher rent, or evicted him in order to replace him by someone who offered more. The evicted tenant not unfrequently revenged himself by murdering the landlord or his agent, or else the new tenant who had ousted him from his holding.

Russell proposed to meet the evil by a double remedy. On the one hand, he brought in a Bill which became law in 1848 as the Encumbered Estates Act, for the sale of deeply mortgaged estates to solvent purchasers, in the hope that the new landlords might be sufficiently well off to treat their tenants with consideration. At the same time he

proposed another measure to compel landlords to compensate their evicted tenants for improvements which the tenants had themselves made, and he would gladly have supported a further measure which he did not venture even to introduce, forbidding the eviction of any tenant who had held land exceeding a quarter of an acre for more than five years, without compensation for the loss of his tenure. English opinion, however, prevented even the Bill for compensation for actual improvements from becoming law; on the other hand, the Bill for buying out the owners of encumbered estates was readily passed, and was also accompanied by a Coercion Act, milder, indeed, than that which had been proposed by Peel. The Encumbered Estates Act standing alone was a curse rather than a blessing, as many of the indebted landowners had been easy-going, whereas many of the new landowners, having paid down ready money, thought themselves justified in applying purely commercial principles to their relations with the tenants, and exacted from them every penny that could be wrung from men who had no protection for the results of their own industry upon the soil. Those who suffered smarted from a sense of wrong, which in 1848 became stronger and more likely to lead to acts of violence, because in that year the course of affairs in Europe gave superabundant example of successful resistance to governments.

The year 1848 was a year of European revolution. France expelled Louis Philippe, and established a second republic, based on universal suffrage. In Italy, not only were constitutional reforms forced on the governments, but Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, led an armed attack on the Austrian power in Lombardy and Venice, by which the despotism of the petty sovereigns of Italy had been bolstered up. In Germany, a parliament met at Frankfurt to devise some scheme for uniting in closer bonds the loose confederation which had been established in 1815, whilst revolutions at Berlin and Vienna led to the adoption of a constitutional system in Prussia and Austria.

The demand for constitutional government was everywhere put forth. In France it was associated with socialism; and an attempt was made to set up national workshops in which every artisan might find work. In that country, however, there was no aggressive spirit as in 1792, and no attempt was made to change the frontiers of the State. In central Europe and in Italy, on the other hand, dissatisfaction with existing frontiers was the prominent feature. The peoples were there eager to see real nations, of which the component parts were bound together by the tie of common attachment, taking the place of artificial states the creations of past wars and treaties. Hence the populations of the Italian States drew together in a desire for the expulsion of the Austrians, and the populations of the German states drew together in a desire to give a common government to the German nation. In the heterogeneous Austrian empire, however, the idea of nationality acted as a dissolvent. Austrians, Hungarians, and Slavs, who together formed the vast majority of the population, had no love for each other, and before the end of the year Austria and Hungary were at open war.

In Ireland, a number of young men imagined that they could play the part in which O'Connell had failed, and raise up armed resistance against England. One of these, Smith O'Brien, tried to put in practice their teaching by attacking a police station, but he was easily captured, and no attempt was made to follow his example.

In England the Chartists thought the time had come to gain that supremacy for the mass of the nation which had been gained in France. Their leader, Feargus O'Connor, a half-mad member of Parliament, called on enormous numbers of them to meet on April 10 on Kennington Common,* and to carry to the House of Commons a monster petition for the Charter, said to be signed by 5,700,000 persons. The government declared the design to be illegal, as crowds are forbidden by law to present petitions, and

* Now Kennington Park.

called on all who would, to serve as special constables—that is to say, to act as policemen for the day. No less than 200,000 enrolled themselves, whereas, when the appointed day came, no more than 25,000 persons assembled on Kennington Common, many of whom were not Chartists. Those who were Chartists formed a procession intending to cross Westminster Bridge. The Duke of Wellington had posted soldiers in the house on the Middlesex side of the bridge, to be used in case of necessity, but he left special constables to stop the procession. This they did without difficulty. There was, however, no attempt to stop the presentation of the petition, which was carried in a cab to the House of Commons, and found to bear 2,000 signatures. Many columns of these were, however, in the same handwriting, and some who actually signed it, wrote the names of celebrated persons, such as Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, instead of their own. Others called themselves Pugnose, Woodenlegs, Bread-and-cheese, and so forth. For all this there was a large number of Chartists in England; but, on the other hand, there was a still larger number of persons who were resolved that, whatever changes might be made in the constitution, they should not be brought about by the exertion of physical force.

The attempt to change existing European order failed as completely on the Continent as it did in England. In December, 1848, the French nation elected Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the first Napoleon, as President for ten years, on the expectation that he would give to the country a quiet and orderly government. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, taking up arms to drive the Austrians out of Italy, was defeated by them at Custoza in 1848, and at Novara in 1849. After these successive failures he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., who maintained constitutional government in his own kingdom of Sardinia, whilst the Austrians regained Lombardy and Venetia, and restored the absolute governments in the other Italian states, except in the Papal

dominions, where a French army restored the absolute government of the Pope. In Germany, the Frankfort parliament tried to erect a constitutional empire, and was dissolved by force. In Prussia, the King, Frederick William IV., got the better of the revolution, though he established a Parliament which, for the present at least, he was able to control. In the Austrian Empire the war between Austria and Hungary was brought to an end by the intervention of a Russian army in favour of Austria, and the constitution of Hungary was abolished. By the end of 1848 reaction prevailed over the whole Continent.

In England the ministry was supported, not merely as the representative of order against turbulence, but also as the representative of free-trade against protection. In 1849, the Navigation Act was repealed, and foreign shipping admitted to compete with English. Yet the government only maintained itself by depending on the votes of the Peelites, and in 1850 Peel unfortunately died in consequence of a fall from his horse. Later in the year, the Pope appointed Roman Catholic bishops to English sees, and an excited public opinion saw in this an attack on the Queen's authority. In 1851, Russell introduced an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, declaring all acts done by the Roman Catholic bishops, and all deeds bestowing property to them under the new titles, to be null and void. This Bill alienated the Peelites and advanced Liberals like Bright and Cobden. In February, the ministry resisted a proposal to lower the county franchise, and resigned. Lord Stanley, however, declined to form a ministry, and Russell and his followers returned to office. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed in a modified form, but it was never in a single instance put in execution and was ultimately repealed.

In 1851, people thought less of politics than of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, where the produce of the world was to be seen in the enormous glass house known as the Crystal Palace—afterwards removed to Penge Hill. The Exhibition was a useful undertaking suggested by Prince

Albert, and it served its purpose in teaching English manufacturers that they might improve their own work by studying the work of foreigners. Many people thought that crowds of revolutionists, who would come under pretence of seeing the exhibition, would set London on fire. Others thought that the nations of Europe would be so knit together by commercial interests that there would be no more wars.

On December 2, 1851, Louis Napoleon dissolved the Assembly, put most of the leading French politicians in prison, and marched soldiers into the streets of Paris to shoot all who resisted him. He then asked the French people to name him President for ten years, with institutions which made him practically the master of the State. The French people, frightened at anarchy, gave him what he asked. In England, Lord Palmerston not only approved of the proceedings, but expressed his approval to the French ambassador, though the Cabinet was for absolute neutrality; whereupon he was dismissed from office. Early in 1852 he took his revenge by declaring against the ministry on a detail in a militia bill. The ministers, finding themselves in a minority, resigned office.

Lord Stanley, who had recently become Earl of Derby by his father's death, now formed a ministry out of the Protectionist party, and declared that the question whether free-trade or protection should prevail was one to be settled by a new parliament to be elected in the summer of 1852. The real master of the government was Disraeli, who had succeeded to the nominal as well as to the actual leadership of his party in the House of Commons upon the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848, and who now became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Disraeli knew well that the feeling of the country was in favour of free-trade, and he astonished his colleagues and supporters by declaring his admiration of its blessings. The elections, when they took place, left the government in a minority. On the meeting of the new Parliament, the first question needing solution was whether the dissensions between Russell and Palmer-

ston, and between the Whigs and Peelites, could be made up so as to form a united opposition, and the second, whether the government could contrive to renounce Protection without complete loss of dignity. The Duke of Wellington had died before Parliament met, and his death served to remind people how he had again and again abandoned political positions with credit, by stating with perfect frankness that his opinions were unchanged, but that circumstances made it no longer possible or desirable to give effect to them.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament, Villiers, the old champion of free-trade, brought forward a resolution, declaring the repeal of the Corn Laws to have been "wise, just, and beneficial." Those who had once been Protectionists, shrank from condemning so distinctly a policy which they had formerly defended; but when Palmerston came to their help by proposing in a less offensive form a resolution which meant much the same as that of Villiers, he was supported by the greater number of them, and his motion was carried with only fifty-three dissentients. Disraeli then brought forward an ingenious budget, which was rejected by the House, upon which the Derby ministry resigned. If Disraeli had not succeeded in maintaining his party in power, at least he had freed it from the unpopular burden of attachment to protection, and had made it capable of rising to power in the future. Before he left office, Louis Napoleon became, by popular vote, Napoleon III. Emperor of the French.

S. R. G.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND

(1852)

WHEN we survey the nineteenth century from its last year but one, the first fact that strikes us is that its earlier half was a time of much more rapid and sweeping change than its second. We have now in our narrative passed the dividing-line between them, and reached the year 1852. The most cursory glance is enough to show us that the difference between the England of 1852 and the England of 1899 is far less than that between the England of 1801 and that of 1852. Almost all the great movements, social, economic, and political, which have given the century its character, were well developed before the time of the Crimean War. It is much the same with literature—all the greater writers of the century had started on their career before that date. In matters religious, the High Church movement in England—the main feature of the century—had been well started: the disruption of the Scottish Church into the Established and the Free Kirks had been completed. It is the same with the great discoveries and inventions which have changed the face of the land and the character of everyday life. The England of 1801 knew not the steamboat and the railway, the electric telegraph and illuminating powers of gas; the England of 1852 was habitually employing them all, though it had still much to learn in the way of perfecting their use.

The greatest change of all, the transformation of the United Kingdom from a state mainly dependent on agriculture to an essentially manufacturing community, is also the work of the first half of the nineteenth century. We

have already spoken of the enormous development of trade during the years of the great French war, but the prosperity of the landed interest had also been very great as long as that struggle lasted, and at its end the number of the inhabitants of the realm more or less directly interested in agriculture was still reckoned to exceed that engaged in manufactures. The great towns contained less than twenty per cent. of the population of England, while by 1852 they counted nearly forty per cent., and at the present day have risen to more than half of the total.* It was the gradual and silent change in proportion between the tillers of the soil and the townsmen, between 1815 and 1840, that made Free Trade inevitable. When the producers of food-stuffs had become a clear minority, it was absurd that the large majority to whom cheap corn was essential, should be taxed for their benefit. The landed aristocracy strove long to retain for agriculture its privileged position, and tried to cover the material benefits which protection brought to themselves, by patriotic talk as to the necessity for keeping England self-sufficing in her food-supply. When it became clear that population was growing too fast for the kingdom ever to be able to supply all its own needs, so that some amount of foreign aid must always be called in, the cry for protection had obviously become impossible and effete. When the Derby ministry of 1852 made no open attempt to undo Peel's Free Trade legislation, it was realized that the old system was quite dead.

We have pointed out in an earlier chapter that the development of new mechanical inventions, and the improvement of machinery, which gave our British manufactures their first start, mostly date from the end of the eighteenth century, and were already at work during the years of the great French war. But the application of steam to the

* In 1891 the purely rural "Sanitary Districts" of England had only 11,076,315 inhabitants out of a total population of 29,000,000. The total of the great towns in 1811 had been about 1,850,000 out of a total population of 10,000,000. In 1851 they had risen to be over 6,000,000 out of a total of 17,000,000.

transport of goods, both by water in the sea-going steam-vessel, and by land in the railway train, gave an enormous impetus to our factories. These novelties start the one from the second and the other from the third decade of the century. Down to 1812, heavy goods could only be transported within the kingdom by road or by canal. Both methods were slow and costly, the former especially so; the canal system had of late been much developed, but there are many parts of the land in which physical conditions made the construction of canals impossible. In hilly districts, however favoured they might be by mineral wealth, good waterpower, or other natural advantages, roads must be steep and difficult, and canals must cost a prohibitive sum. It was very hard to develop, for example, a coal-field, if it was remote from the sea and situated in a mountainous district.

The case was the same with goods destined for foreign markets. Only places specially favoured by their nearness to a great harbour, or their easy accessibility by canals, could readily move their products to the sea and place them on shipboard. When once stowed on the vessel, they were at the mercy of the wind and weather: since only sailing ships existed, their time of arrival at the foreign port was uncertain; often it might be protracted for months beyond the expected time. The time and the cost of transport were things which even the most experienced merchant could not accurately calculate.

The improvement in the means of transport began slightly earlier on sea than on land. After many experiments and half-successful trials, the steamboat emerged as a regular method of conveyance towards the end of the great French war. The earliest paddle-wheel steamers were employed for river-navigation alone. Their first use was seen in America about 1807, but five years later the *Comet* commenced running up and down the Clyde. The possibilities of the invention were soon grasped, and it was in a very few years applied to ocean navigation, at first for short voyages, but ere very long for the longest possible

distances. The first steamer crossed the Atlantic as early as 1819, but for some time the problem of coal-carrying baffled the naval architect, and steamers on an oceanic voyage were expected to eke out their coal by using sails when the wind was favourable. It was not until twenty years later that the problem was completely solved, and the great steamship companies began to be formed: the Royal Mail Packet Company started in 1839, the Peninsular and Oriental and the Cunard Companies in 1840. By 1852 most of the passenger traffic and the transport of all valuable and perishable goods had passed under the charge of steam, the old sailing vessels being relegated to the carrying of bulky and cheap commodities—such as coal or timber—whose rapid delivery made not much difference in their price.

Steam navigation shortened in the most astounding way the time required for the transport of British goods to the remotest ends of the earth. It made time a calculable feature in commerce, instead of an element absolutely incalculable. Freights could be estimated with an accuracy and minuteness hitherto impossible; orders could be carried and executed at half their former cost. Hence British commerce was able to invade many new markets, and to compete with foreign manufactures in regions whose remoteness had once handicapped the development of trade.

The political effects of steam-navigation are another branch of its influence that cannot be neglected. It made the government of colonies and dependencies infinitely more easy, by shortening the time required for the exchange of question and answer between the local and the imperial government. The change had, no doubt, certain drawbacks; it rendered the meddling interference of the central authority in matters of petty detail more possible, and tended to make weak officials refer everything home, instead of using their own initiative. These developments, however, have only become really dangerous since the electric telegraph, a generation later, placed Whitehall in direct communication with every colonial capital.

Meanwhile, steam had done nothing but good when it placed Calcutta at six weeks' instead of six months' distance from London, a feat accomplished after 1845, when the Peninsular and Oriental Company adopted the "Overland Route" by Alexandria and Suez, abandoning the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope.

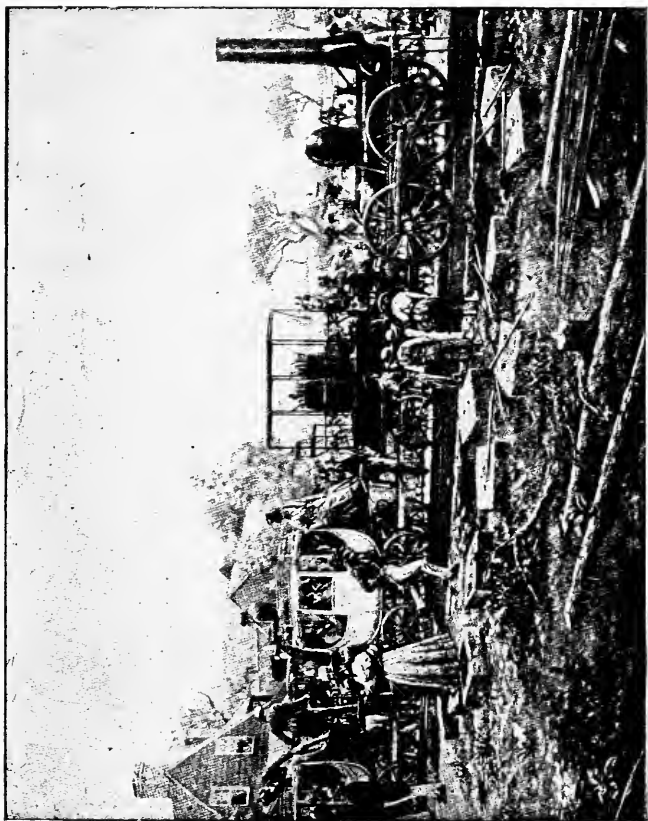
It is curious to find how late steam was applied to our war navy. Before the screw superseded the paddle-wheel, and before armour had been invented, both the wheels of the steamer and her driving-machinery were much exposed to hostile shot and shell. Hence it was held that the type was too fragile for battle, and the old sailing ship-of-the-line retained its place till the Crimean War. Steamers, when at last introduced, were only used as tugs and tenders, and were expected to keep to the rear when fighting was in progress. The first sea-going steamship in the navy was built as late as 1833. The first new line-of-battle ship driven by steam was only launched in 1852; this vessel, the *Agamemnon*, was fitted with the screw, which, since 1840, had already begun to supersede the paddle-wheel. But it was not till the idea of covering warships with armour was conceived that the Admiralty finally ceased to employ the old sailing-vessels, of the type that Nelson had loved, as the main force of the navy.

Astounding as were the changes wrought by the invention of steamships, the daily life of the world has been even more influenced by the appearance of the railway and the steam-locomotive. Two ideas had to be combined for the production of this new device: tramways, on which waggons were drawn by horses, had been known since 1801; steam-locomotives, which lumbered along the high-road like modern traction-engines, had first been seen in 1803. The notion that the locomotive could be made to drag trucks along the tramway-line was the initial idea of our whole railway system. The experiment was tried at first only on the smallest scale in quarries and coal-mines. It was successful, but attracted no great attention till 1821,

when George Stephenson, the father of railways, built the first line of any appreciable length, to connect the two north-country towns of Stockton and Darlington. This venture proved so successful that, four years later, Stephenson was employed to design a railroad to join Manchester with Liverpool. This undertaking was completed in five years, and in September, 1830, the first train was run. By a deplorable chance, it killed Huskisson, the great Tory champion of free trade, an incident previously noted. Engines had already improved so much, that trains of 1830 could travel at what was then considered the dangerous and break-neck rate of thirty miles an hour.

The first promoters of railways had imagined that they would be mainly employed for carrying goods; that passenger-traffic would form an important branch of their business does not seem to have occurred to them. The earliest first-class carriages were old stage-coaches fastened down to tracks, while third-class passengers were conveyed in open vans like those now employed to carry cattle. It was only the enormous and unexpected influx of travellers that led to the construction of proper carriages for their convenience. From the moment that the Liverpool and Manchester railway proved a great success, lines began to be laid all over the country. The public, which had once been sceptical as to the whole matter, hastened to subscribe money for every railway scheme that could be broached, even for those which were obviously not likely to pay. The great period of expansion lay between 1830 and 1850, and by the later date all the present main lines, except the "Midland" and the "London, Chatham, and Dover," had come into existence. Two great panics caused by over-speculation occurred in 1836 and 1845, but the development of the national railway system was such a genuine and such a profitable thing that such troubles only gave it a momentary check.

Railways can go, thanks to the skill of the modern engineer, into any corner of the earth where there is traffic sufficient to make them pay. Hence their creation opened



THE FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN

out numerous corners of Great Britain which physical difficulties had hitherto kept in seclusion and poverty. Wherever coal and iron existed, they could now be utilized. Wherever manufactures are produced, they can easily be conveyed to the centres of home consumption or to the sea-ports which send them to foreign lands. Not the least important side of railway extension was that it made possible the easy transfer of labour from place to place. Down to 1830 the population of England had not been migratory; men seldom moved far from the region where they had been born and bred. But with the sudden appearance of means of quick and cheap locomotion, it became easy for the working classes to go far afield. Even in remote country districts the hitherto stationary rural classes began to move, mainly in order to invade the towns, where labour was better paid, and life more lively and bustling, if not more attractive in other ways.

The easy intercommunication between regions hitherto kept apart led to the combination of the workmen in various lines of manufacture into "Trades Unions," for the purpose of securing by united action advantages which the individual or the men of a single district could not wring from their employers. Such associations had once been prohibited by Act of Parliament, and it was only in 1824 that they became legal. Their power from the first was very great, but has not always been wisely used. Excellent for securing the fair rise in wages during times of prosperity, they have often tried to prevent the equally rational fall in wages during periods of stagnation and adversity. Strikes set on foot for such objects may ruin the employer, but are also bound to starve the employed, since trade cannot be carried on at a loss. It is hopeless to endeavour to force the manufacturer to pay more than the state of the market enables him to give. If the strike under such circumstances is persisted in, the branch of industry in which it occurs must fail, and it is almost certain that the profits formerly made in it will be transferred to the foreigner. In their earlier days, Trades Unions had

another very legitimate sphere of operations, in dealing with the abuses and oppression which prevailed in many factories. The law had not yet taken notice of many evil features of the new manufacturing system which had sprung up during the great French war. Overcrowding, over-long hours of work, insanitary conditions of life, careless supervision in dangerous employments, were all rife. Against such criminal negligence on the part of employers the Unions could bring pressure to bear, and did so with the best results.

The larger amount, however, of the legislation for the reform of factory life was due rather to the improved spirit of public opinion than to the direct pressure of the Trades Unions. The same humanitarian feeling which led to the abolition of negro slavery, or to the reform of the criminal laws, led men to take a legitimate interest in the welfare of the workers in great towns. Believing that every Englishman was responsible for any unnecessary misery inflicted on his poorer countrymen, philanthropists like Lord Shaftesbury led the agitation for the restriction of child-labour, the inspection of mines and factories, and the abolition of such abuses as the payment of wages in kind instead of money. Allusion has been made in an earlier chapter to these reforms, most of which were carried out between the years 1830 and 1850.

Along with them may be named several other typical developments of the nineteenth century, which show the general rise in the conception of social life. Capital punishment, which had been restricted to a comparatively few offences since Peel began his reforms, was practically abolished for all crimes save murder and treason in 1841. The last execution for forgery had taken place twelve years before, in 1829. The barbarous mutilation of the bodies of traitors was last seen at the execution of Thistlewood and his gang in 1820. The detestable practice of duelling barely survived into the forties. Drunkenness ceased to be tolerated in polite society, and a series of Acts starting in the "thirties" have slowly succeeded in making it less

the typical national vice of Great Britain than it was in the early years of the century. Brutal amusements like prize-fighting have shown a gratifying tendency towards disappearance. In every case public opinion has outrun legislation, and the good effected has been as much the result of social pressure on the individual as of the punishments inflicted by the law.

A few words must be spared to give some account of two inventions of no mean importance, which started early in the reign of Victoria, and have done much to modify the daily life of England. The first was the introduction of the penny post in 1840, after a long agitation led by Rowland Hill, who spent several years in convincing obstinate post-office officials that a uniform low rate for all letters delivered within the kingdom would cause gain, and not loss, to the exchequer. Down to 1840 letters were charged with sums varying from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* In that year the penny rate was accepted, and by 1842 the number of letters sent through the post had tripled itself. A few years later the increase had grown so great that a handsome and ever-growing profit was realized. The first penny letters were obliged to be despatched in government envelopes covered with an elaborate pictorial design, but after a few months the much more convenient adhesive postage stamp was invented, and superseded completely the older plan (1841). The electric telegraph started as a practical scheme about three years later than the penny post. It was originally worked by private companies, not by the government post-office. In 1843 the first line was built, covering the twenty miles between Paddington and Slough. Seven years later the network of poles and wires covered the whole kingdom; and in 1851 the first submarine cable was laid from Dover to Calais. It is almost impossible for us to conceive the change made in everyday life by the introduction of these cheap and quick methods of communication. The only thing that can be said against them is that they have killed the ancient and elegant art of descriptive letter-writing as practised by our grandfathers.

Any account of the first half of the nineteenth century which omitted to notice its extraordinary fertility in literature of the highest class would be very incomplete. No period in English history shows such a cluster of great names; none save the Elizabethan age deserves to be named along with it. The period before the great French war had been a singularly dull one; only a few writers like Burns, Sheridan, Cowper, and Burke had given promise of the great outburst that was at hand. But the generation which grew to manhood in the stress of the struggle, or was born while it was still in progress, seems to have gathered inspiration from the general stir and tumult, intellectual and political, of the times. Even those whose range of topics lay among subjects which did not at once reflect the spirit of the age, were none the less deeply affected by it. In the earliest poems of Wordsworth and Southey, written before the eighteenth century was quite run out, we trace first a profession of faith in the principles of the French Revolution, and a little later a recantation of the error, as they fall into line with the prevailing national sentiment and adopt a strongly British tone.

Sir Walter Scott, the first of the greater poets to break into verse in the new century, was inspired not only by a romantic affection for the picturesque side of mediæval history, but by an ardent patriotism which led him to sing of the events of the great war as they passed by him. It must be confessed that his inspiration was not usually at its best when he dealt with such themes in the "Vision of Don Roderic" or "Waterloo." Lord Byron and Shelley, men of the younger generation, showed the influence of the times in a different way. The former was so deeply bitten by discontent for what he called the "Age of Bronze," that he abused Wellington, and called Waterloo "bloody and most bootless." But his protest against the common national feeling of his day in this respect is only a part of his general attitude of somewhat morbid and affected opposition to the whole state of English society and politics. Posing as a misunderstood genius and a censor of

his times, Byron was almost bound to fall foul of the patriotism that had enabled us to fight through the great war. It is some consolation to see him in his last years doing something practical for liberty in the Greek war, instead of merely carping at the honest enthusiasm of his contemporaries. Shelley, on the other hand, was not merely a critic of his times, but an active apostle of political and moral anarchy. It is a thousand pities that the lot of such a poet should have been cast in the days of the French Revolution. The most futile and extravagant doctrines of the French school had a fatal attraction for his high-strung and hysterical mind, and he lavished a wealth of splendid imagery on adorning the cheapest revolutionary ideas. Piercing below his glorious diction, we find the old protest against all laws, human and divine, which formed the stock-in-trade of the followers of Rousseau. Shelley was made for something better than denouncing "the crimes and tyrannies of priests and kings." But from the day when he was expelled from Oxford for sending his tract on "The Logical Necessity of Atheism" to the master of his college, he had an incorrigible tendency to take up every perverse idea that was in the air. It is thus that it came to pass that a poet who possessed the greatest mastery over language, the profoundest sympathy with nature, the widest range of thought, and the most abundant flow of beautiful images and ideas, exercised no influence whatever over his own generation.

It is kindest to Byron and Shelley to remember that the bulk of their writings were produced in the days when Lord Liverpool was prime minister. Toryism presented in such a dull shape had in it enough to irritate minds less susceptible than those of poets.

It is astounding to note how the flow of literature of the first class which begins during the great French war continues during the early half of the nineteenth century. Beside the great names which we have mentioned, Keats and Moore in poetry, Charles Lamb and De Quincey among essayists and descriptive writers, Sir Walter Scott and

Jane Austen among novelists, all start within a few years of each other. The period of 1810-30 is set thick with literary masterpieces, and long before the survivors of the generation which produced them had passed away, the men of the younger age, whom we may call the early-Victorian writers, had begun to work. Tennyson's first book of poems was produced twenty years before the death of Wordsworth; Dickens's earliest sketches were published only five years after Scott's latest novel. Lord Macaulay and Carlyle overlap Lamb and De Quincey. Thackeray, Robert Browning, Charles Kingsley, and John Ruskin all produced some of their best work before 1852.* Most of these authors of the early-Victorian time were destined to go on writing into the second half of the century, but all had arrived at maturity in the early years of Victoria's reign, and belong in their character and ideas to the earlier and not the later period of it. We shall note further on the lamentable dwindling of the harvest of first-rate literature in the last decades of the age.

Any account of social change in England in the first half of the nineteenth century must take notice of the extraordinary changes which passed over its religious life during the period. At its beginning, the only vital force in the land was the Evangelical Movement, which had affected the Established Church almost as much as the dissenting bodies. The revival of active energy, which had commenced with Wesley in the middle of the last century, had reached its height by 1800. It had induced multitudes to

* It may be worth while to give the dates of these authors, to show the way in which they overlap. Scott died in 1832, Lamb in 1834, Southey in 1843, Wordsworth in 1850, De Quincey in 1859. Macaulay (1800-1859) began to write in 1824. Dickens (1812-70) published his "Sketches by Boz" in 1836. Tennyson (1809-92) issued his "Poems, chiefly Lyrical," in 1830. Thackeray (1811-63) produced his first book in 1840, and his great "Vanity Fair" in 1846-48. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) was already writing essays in 1822, and issued "Sartor Resartus" in 1831. Charles Kingsley (1819-75) started his work with "The Saints' Tragedy" in 1847. Browning (1812-89) was producing verse as early as 1833. Ruskin's "Modern Painters" began in 1843, and was finished in 1846.

leave the national Church in order to join the new Methodist sects; but there had remained behind, within the establishment, hundreds of clergy who carried on the Wesleyan tradition, and at the commencement of the century they were the only energetic party. But the Evangelicals were never the majority of the clerical body; there still survived a considerable leaven of the spiritual apathy of earlier Georgian times. The type of vicar who regaled his congregation with dry moral essays by way of sermons, and who regarded all enthusiasm with distrust, was still very common. There is no doubt that the general moral level of the clergy had gone up in the reign of George III. Scandals were no longer frequent, and gross neglect of duty was rare. But outside the ranks of the Evangelicals fervour and activity were wanting. No adequate effort had been made to cope with the difficulties arising from the growth of the new manufacturing towns, or the expansion of London. For the first time in English history, a whole generation had grown up in such centres of population which was quite out of touch of religious instruction, and was tending towards practical heathenism.

For dealing with such a problem, organization and corporate action were as necessary as zeal and fervour, and want of organization was unfortunately the weak point of the Evangelical party. In energetic missionary work on the individual hearer they were admirable and untiring, but just because their message of conversion was to the individual, they failed to build up any system of Church work and Church life. They had, moreover, never succeeded in getting command of the higher posts in the Church, and were much hampered by the dislike for movement of the bishops, most of whom were still political nominees or mere classical scholars, as in the earlier Georgian age. The Evangelical party were always to the front in schemes for philanthropic and benevolent ends. They had energetically supported the abolition of the Slave Trade and the passing of the Factory Acts; they had been vigorously pressing missionary enterprise in foreign lands,

and were mainly responsible for the general rise in the moral tone of society during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. But there was room in the Church for other developments, which they had been unable or unwilling to supply.

The first of these was that of the "Broad Church" movement, which was running strongly all through the middle of the century. Its exponents disliked the narrow scheme of salvation and the emotional type of piety which were characteristic of the Evangelical school, and wished to make the Church comprehensive, tolerant, moderate, and learned. The earlier men of the Broad Church school laid more stress on the study of philosophy and logic as the basis of natural religion. The greatest name among them is that of Archbishop Whately (1787-1863). The later leaders devoted more time to the historical development of dogma, the textual study of the scriptures—sometimes carried out in a rather destructive spirit,—and the reconciling of science and religion. They never had much influence with the masses, to whom their message was not directed, but largely affected the thought of the educated classes. Only a few of their leaders, indeed, tried to popularize Broad Church views; the only man of real proselytizing spirit among them was the poet and novelist Charles Kingsley. The enthusiasm which he displayed for all social progress and moral reform was not characteristic of the whole school, who were distinctly scholars rather than missionaries.

A revolt against Evangelical doctrines on very different lines was to win far greater influence than the Broad Church school has ever attained. This was the so-called "Oxford Movement," which started in the fourth decade (1833-34) of the century among a knot of young university men, of whom several of the most prominent were fellows of Oriel College. The inspiring thought of the new High Church school—they soon got the name of Tractarians, from a series of tracts in which their views were set forth—was a belief in the historic continuity of the Church.

They refused to accept the common Protestant doctrine that the Established Church started with Henry VIII. and the Reformation, and wished to assert its entire identity with the church of Augustine and Anselm. As a logical consequence, they were ready to accept all early and even mediæval doctrine which was not specially disavowed by the Anglican formularies. The Church of England, as a living branch of the Catholic Church, they thought, could not refuse to accept anything that had primitive usage on its side. Special stress was laid by them on two doctrines, equally repugnant to their Low Church and to their Broad Church contemporaries—the Real Presence in the Sacrament and the Sacrificial Priesthood of the Clergy. Such views had been held in the England of the seventeenth century, but they had been almost forgotten in the eighteenth, and sounded like a revival of popery to most men.

Enthusiastic study of the Early Fathers and of other sources of dogma formed part of the Tractarians' scheme of life. Their teaching found wide acceptance among the clergy, as was natural when the new doctrine so greatly magnified the priestly office. But the fervent piety and earnest lives of the early leaders of the movement, such as John Keble, John Henry Newman, and Hurrell Froude, would have attracted followers, even if there had been much less to be said in favour of their views. All through the forties there was bitter strife between the Tractarians and their opponents, who openly accused them of paving the way for the submission of the English Church to Rome. This notion was certainly confirmed by such writings as Newman's celebrated pamphlet, in which he proved, by a series of elaborate but unconvincing arguments, that the "Thirty-nine Articles" were so loosely worded that a man might hold all the more prominent Roman doctrines and yet stay within the Anglican establishment. The author did not convince himself, as a few years later he went over to Rome, followed by a number of his more prominent disciples, and died a cardinal in 1890.

But the great bulk of the High Churchmen, headed by

Keble, the model of parish priests, and Pusey, the most learned of their theologians, did not break away from the Church of their birth, but stayed within it. They were determined to win recognition for their views within the Anglican communion, and fully succeeded. Ere the movement was thirty years old it had transformed the face of religious England. The High Churchmen had from the first shown a capacity for combined action and orderly co-operation which the Evangelical party had never displayed. It came, no doubt, from the fact that their doctrines laid great stress on the corporate unity of the Church, and the duty of working in unison and setting aside personal prejudices, while the Evangelicals had relied on individual effort, and had never given their party any effective organization. Though not more zealous in parochial or missionary work than their elder rivals, the Tractarians proved far more successful. They did admirable work in the way of stirring up neglected districts, building new churches, putting an end to careless and slovenly forms of worship, and raising the general standard of activity expected from the clergy. It is by their splendid practical work in this direction that they have raised themselves to so high a place in the Anglican communion, for public opinion seldom fails in the end to recognize and reward such merit. Zeal, of course, has not always been tempered with discretion; but eccentricities on the part of a minority cannot blind us to the admirable effect of the High Church movement as a whole: it has certainly left the National Church in a condition of greater health and activity than it has enjoyed at any time since the reign of Queen Anne.

While the Tractarian movement had been fighting its first battles in England, the Established Church in Scotland had been rent asunder by a struggle quite as fierce, though turning on very different points (1834-43). The question at issue north of Tweed was the relation between the State and the Church, taking shape in a dispute as to the right of presentation to benefices. The system by which

ministers were nominated by a patron instead of chosen by the congregation seemed so objectionable to a large section of the Scottish clergy, headed by Dr. Chalmers, that when Parliament refused to give the parish a veto on the patron's choice, they seceded from the Established Church, and formed a new denomination called the Free Kirk (May 18, 1843). Thus they established a communion free from all State control, but only at the terrible cost of splitting Scotland into two spiritual camps, and setting up rival kirks and manse in every town and village, with a consequent crop of bitter quarrels that endured for more than a generation.

BOOK XII

EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND

CHAPTER VIII

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY

[1852-1858]

SINCE the accession to power of Lord Grey's ministry in 1830, the opinions of Bentham had gained the upper hand, and the greatest happiness of the greatest number had become the inspiring thought of statesmen. Free trade was regarded, not merely as desirable because it averted starvation, but as uniting nations together in commercial bonds. Nothing was more common in 1851 and 1852 than to hear sensible men predict that the era of wars was past, and that nations trafficking with one another would have no motive for engaging in strife. The fierce passions evoked by the struggles for nationality in 1848 were forgotten, and a time of peace and prosperity regarded as permanently established.

There had, indeed, been signs that it was impossible to bring all men to forsake the pursuit of ideal truth. In 1827 Keble published the first edition of the *Christian Year*, and in the following years a body of writers at Oxford, of whom the most prominent were Newman and Pusey, did their best to inspire the rising generation with the belief that the Church of England had a life of its own independent of the State or of Society, and that its true doctrines were those which had been taught in the earlier centuries of the Church's existence. Their teaching was not unlike that of Laud, though without Laud's leaning upon the State, and with a reverence for the great mediæval ecclesiastics and their teaching which Laud had not possessed. In Scotland, reaction against State interference took another turn. Large numbers of the Scottish

clergy and people objected to the system by which lay patrons had in their hands the appointment of ministers to Church livings, and in 1843 no less than 474 ministers threw up their livings and, followed by numerous congregations, formed the Free Church of Scotland. Different as were the movements in the two countries, they had this in common, that they regarded religion as something more than the creature of law and Parliament.

Other men sought their ideals in science, and though scientific men did not meddle with politics, their work was not only productive of an increase of material comfort, but also permeated the minds of unscientific persons with a belief in natural law and order, which steadied them when they came to deal with the complex facts of human life. The rapid growth of railways, especially after 1844, the introduction of the electric telegraph in 1837, and other practical results of scientific discovery, prepared the way for a favourable reception of doctrines such as those announced in Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, the first edition of which was published in 1830, where the formation of the earth's surface was traced to a series of gradual changes similar to those in action at the present day. Darwin's *Origin of Species*, in which the multiplicity of living forms were accounted for by permanent natural causes, did not appear till 1859.

The feelings and opinions of the age were, as is usually the case, reflected in its literature. Dickens, whose first considerable work, *The Pickwick Papers*, appeared in 1837, painted humorously the lives of the middle classes, which had obtained political power through the Reform Act of 1832; and Thackeray, whose *Vanity Fair* was published in 1848, lashed the vices of great and wealthy sinners, principally of those who had held a high place in the society of the preceding generations, though he delighted in painting the gentleness and self-denial of men, and still more of women of a lower station. For him the halo of glory with which Scott had crowned the past had disappeared. Amongst the historians of this period, by far the

greatest is Macaulay, whose *History of England* began to appear in 1848, the year in which *Vanity Fair* was published. In him was to be found a massive common-sense in applying the political judgments of the day to the events of past times, combined with an inability to grasp sympathetically the opinions of those who had struggled against the social and political movements out of which the life of the nineteenth century had been developed. As for the future, Macaulay had no such dissatisfaction with life around him as to crave for further organic change. Piece-meal reforms he welcomed gladly, but he had no wish to alter the political basis of society. The Reform Act of 1832 gave him all that he desired.

There were not wanting writers who saw the weak points of that rule of the middle classes which seemed so excellent to Macaulay. Grote's *History of Greece*, which was published at intervals from 1845 to 1856, was in reality a panegyric on the democracy of Athens and, by implication, a pleading in favour of democracy in England. Mill, whose *System of Logic* appeared in 1843, expounded the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham, accompanying his scientific teaching with the expression of hopefulness in the growth of democracy as likely to lead to better government. The man, however, whose teaching did most to rouse the age to a sense of the insufficiency of its work was Thomas Carlyle, whose *Sartor Resartus* began to appear in 1833 and who detested alike the middle-class Parliamentary government dear to Macaulay, and the democratic government dear to Grote and Mill. He was the prophet of duty. Each individual was to set himself resolutely to despise the conventions of the world, and to conform to the utmost of his power to the divine laws of the world. Those who did this most completely were heroes, to whom and not to Parliamentary majorities or scientific deductions, reverence and obedience were due. The negative part of Carlyle's teaching—its condemnation of democracy and science—made no impression. The positive part fixed itself upon the mind of the young, thousands of whom

learnt from it to follow the call of duty, and to obey her behests.

The best poetry of the time reflected in a milder way the teaching of Carlyle. Tennyson, whose most thoughtful work, *In Memoriam*, appeared in 1849, is filled with a sense of the pre-eminence of duty, combined with a reverent religious feeling and a respect for the teaching of science which was then bursting on the world. The opening lines of *In Memoriam* give the key-note of the teaching of a master who held out the hand to Carlyle on the one hand, and to Keble and Newman on the other.

Strong Son of God, immortal love
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove;

.
Thou seemest human and divine,
The holiest, highest manhood, thou;
Our wills are ours, we know not how,
Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

The pursuit of the knowledge of the secret processes and the open manifestations of nature, which placed its stamp upon the science and the literature of the time, made itself also visible in its art. No man ever revealed in landscape-painting the infinity of the natural world and the subtleness of its gradations, as did Turner in the days of his strength, before his eyes fixed on the glory of the atmosphere and the sky lost perception of the beauty of the earth.

The Derby Ministry was followed by a coalition ministry of Liberals and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen. At first it seemed as if Parliament was about to settle down to a series of internal reforms. In 1853, Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, produced a budget which proved generally acceptable, and Russell promised a new Reform Bill which was actually brought forward in 1854, though by that time circumstances having become adverse to its consideration caused its prompt withdrawal.

For some time there had been a diplomatic struggle be-

tween France and Russia for the possession of certain holy places in Palestine by the clergy of their respective churches, and though in 1852 the Sultan proposed a compromise, neither party was satisfied. In the beginning of 1853, the Tzar Nicholas spoke to Sir Hamilton Seymour of "the Turk" as a sick man, and proposed that if he died, that is to say, if the Turkish power fell to pieces, England should take Crete and Egypt, and that the Sultan's European provinces should be formed into independent states, of course under Russian protection. There can be no doubt that the Christians under the Sultan were misgoverned, and that the Tzar, like every Russian, honestly sympathized with them, especially as they belonged to the Orthodox Church—commonly known as the Greek Church—which was his own. It was, however, also true that every Tzar wished to extend his dominions southward, and that his sympathies undoubtedly tended in the same direction as his ambition. In England the sympathies were ignored, whilst the ambition was clearly perceived, and the British ministers refused to agree to Nicholas's proposal. Nicholas then sent Prince Menschikoff as ambassador to Constantinople to demand that the protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects should be given over to himself, and when this was refused, occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia with his troops; upon which a British fleet was moved up to the entrance of the Dardanelles.

To avert an outbreak of war the four great Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, in what is usually called the Vienna note, embodied a proposal, which, if adopted by the Sultan, would convey his promise to the Tzar to protect the Christians of the Greek Church as his predecessors had promised to do in older treaties with the Tzars, and to extend to the Greek Christians all advantages granted to other Christians. With this note the Tzar was contented, but the Sultan, urged on by imperious Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador at Constantinople, refused to accept it without alteration, and on

the Tzar insisting on its acceptance as it stood declared war upon him. In the autumn the Turks crossed the Danube and defeated some Russian troops, on which the Russian fleet sallied forth from Sebastopol, the great Russian fortified harbour in the Crimea, and on November 30 destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. In England strong indignation was felt; England and France bound themselves closely together, and, refusing to be held back by Austria and Prussia, entered upon war with Russia in March, 1854. In May the Russians laid siege to Silistria on the south bank of the Danube. The siege however ended in failure, and, as a British and French army arrived at Varna, a seaport on the Black Sea, south of the mouth of the Danube, and as the Austrians insisted on the Russians evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, the Russian army drew back to its own territory, and abandoned any further attempt to enforce its claims by invasion.

Two courses were now open to the Allies. They might knit themselves again to Austria and Prussia and substitute a European protection of the Christians under the Sultan for a merely Russian protection, without driving Russia to a prolongation of the war; or else, breaking loose from their alliance with Austria and Prussia (neither of which was inclined to drive matters to extremities), they might seek to destroy the Russian Black Sea fleet and the fortifications of Sebastopol, in order to take from Russia the power of again threatening the Turks. Public opinion in England was definitely set upon the latter course. There was exasperation against the ambition of Russia and a determination that the work should be thoroughly done. To the support of this passionate desire to carry on the war to its end, came a misconception of the nature of the Turkish Government. In reality the Turk was, as Nicholas had said, a sick man, and as he would become weaker every year, it was impossible to provide for his guarding his own even if Sebastopol were destroyed. In England the Government of the Sultan was regarded as well-intentioned and perfectly capable of holding its own, if the existing

danger could be removed. This view of the case was strongly supported by Palmerston, who, though he was no longer foreign minister, brought his strong will to bear on the resolutions of the ministry. England and France resolved on transporting their armies from Varna to the Crimea. The English force was commanded by Lord Raglan, and the French by Marshal St. Arnaud.

On September 14, the two armies, numbering together with a body of Turkish soldiers about 61,000 men, landed to the south of Eupatoria. They marched southwards and found the Russian army drawn up on high ground beyond the river Alma. There was not much skill shown by the generals on either side, but the Allies had the better weapons, and the dogged persistence of the British contributed much to the success of the Allies. The Russians were defeated, and the Allies wheeled round the harbour of Sebastopol and established themselves on the plateau to the south of the town. There was inside the place a vast store of guns and of everything needed for the defence, and what was more, a man of genius, General Todleben, to improve the fortifications and direct the movements of the garrison. He closed the harbour against the Allied fleets by sinking ships at the mouth, and he brought up guns and raised earthworks to resist the impending attack on the land side. On October 17, the Allies opened a tremendous fire. The British batteries destroyed the guns opposed to them, and the place might perhaps have been taken by assault if the French had done as well. The French, however, who were now under the command of Marshal Canrobert—St. Arnaud having died after the battle of the Alma—made their magazines of gunpowder too near the surface of the ground, and when one of them exploded, their efforts were rendered useless. The attack had to be postponed for an indefinite time.

The stores and provisions for the British army were landed at the little port of Balaclava. On October 25, a Russian army pushed forward to cut off communication between this port and the British force before Sebastopol.

A charge by the Brigade of Heavy Cavalry drove back a huge mass of Russian horsemen. Lord Cardigan, who commanded the Brigade of Light Cavalry, received an order vaguely worded to retake some guns which had been captured by the Russians. The order was misunderstood and the Light Brigade, knowing that it was riding to its destruction, but refusing to set an example of disobedience, charged not in the direction of the guns, which they were unable to see, but into the very centre of the Russian army. The ranks of the English cavalry were mown down and but few escaped alive. "It is magnificent," said a French general, "but it is not war." On November 5, the battle of Inkerman was fought, in which the scanty British drove back thick columns of Russians. If the Russians had prevailed, both the Allied armies would have been destroyed. As it was the British held out against fearful odds, till the French came to their help, and forced the Russians to retreat.

Winter was now upon the armies. It had been supposed at home that their task would be accomplished before the fine weather ended, and no adequate provision for a winter season had been made. A storm swept over the Black Sea and wrecked vessels laden with stores. The soldiers had only tents to keep off the rain and bitter cold, and fell ill by hundreds. The horses, which should have brought stores from Balaclava, died, and it was useless to replace them, because, though large numbers of horses were obtainable, forage had not been sent from home to keep them alive. What provisions reached the camp had to be carried by the men, and the men were worn out by having to spend long hours in guarding the trenches and to fetch provisions as well. Besides, the English Government, having had no experience of war, committed many blunders in their arrangements for the supply of the army. The French were better off, because Kamiesch Bay, where their provisions were landed, was nearer their camp than Balaclava was to the camp of the British.

The sick were carried to a hospital at Scutari, near Con-

stantinople, but when they arrived there were no nurses to attend on them, and large numbers died. After a while Miss Florence Nightingale was sent out with other ladies to nurse the sick. It was the first time that women had been employed as nurses in war. Miss Nightingale soon reduced the disorder into order, made the place clean, and saw that the sufferers were skilfully tended. Good nursing at once told on the health of the men, and valuable lives were spared in consequence of the gentle help received.

At home Englishmen looked on the misery in the Crimea with growing anger. They thought that some one was to blame, and as soon as Parliament met, the Government was forced to resign. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. It was known that his whole heart was in the war, and that he was a man of strong common sense and resolute character. Matters in the Crimea began to improve, principally because by that time English officials had begun, after numerous failures, to understand their duties.

During the summer the siege of Sebastopol was pushed on. The British army was in good condition. The French troops were, however, more numerous, and occupied the positions from which the town could be most easily attacked. They had, too, a new commander, Marshal Pelissier, who was more strong-willed than Canrobert had been. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, joined the Allies, and in the battle of Trakir* his troops took part with the French in driving back a fresh Russian onslaught. After various attempts a final attack on Sebastopol was made on September 8. The English failed to capture the Redan which was opposed to them, but the French stormed the Malakhoff Tower, and the whole of the fortifications were thereby rendered untenable. The Tzar Nicholas had died in the spring, and his successor, Alexander II., was now ready to make peace. The Russian losses had been enormous, not merely in Sebastopol itself, but over the

* *Trakir* is the Russian word for an inn.

whole of the empire. There was scarcely a railway in Russia then, and hundreds of thousands of men had perished of fatigue in the long and exhausting marches. In March, 1856, peace was made. The fortifications of Sebastopol were destroyed, and Russia promised not to have a fleet in the Black Sea or to re-fortify the town. The Russians abode by these terms as long as they were obliged to do so, and no longer. It was, however, long enough to give the Turks time to improve and strengthen their government if they had been capable of carrying out reforms of any kind.

Thus ended England's last European war in the nineteenth century. Much can be said against its policy: the defence of Turkish despotism, as subsequent events have conclusively proved, was not a worthy end in itself. We were throughout the struggle utilized and exploited by our selfish French ally, a thing that could have been foreseen from the first. Finally, we had been forced to conclude a peace on terms wholly inadequate to the sacrifices we had made. The war had cost about £77,000,000, and had added £33,000,000 to the National Debt. More than 20,000 British soldiers had perished—the large majority, not by the bullets of the enemy, but sacrificed by the imbecile mismanagement which starved them into disease, and then sent them to die in comfortless hospitals. Our generals had certainly made no great reputation during the war, and the splendid courage by which the rank and file fought their way out of difficulties for which they were not responsible, had only barely staved off disaster on more than one occasion. Nevertheless, the war was probably necessary: it would have been impossible to leave Russia free to carve up Turkey at her good pleasure; and, considering the state of tension that had been reached in 1854, it is more than doubtful whether Nicholas could have been stopped by mere demonstrations and diplomacy. It is true that in 1879 a firm attitude and a great show of naval power kept the Russians out of Constantinople; but in 1854 they had not suffered so many checks, nor wasted so

many lives and so much treasure, as in the later war, so that the Tzar was then much less liable to pressure than was his son at the time of the Treaty of Berlin. The best, probably, that could be said for the Crimean war was that it taught us to know some of the worst points of our military organization, and raised the spirit of national patriotism, which had tended to sink low during the long peace since Waterloo. It certainly did not bring about either of the two ends for which it had been undertaken—the reform of Turkey or the permanent crippling of Russia. At the most it staved off the Eastern Question, as a source of trouble, for some twenty years.

In home politics the main result of the war was to put Lord Palmerston in office for the ten years that remained of his long life. Except for a short interval in 1858-59, he held the premiership continuously. This was the nation's mark of gratitude for the vigour and energy with which he had conducted the war after the fall of Lord Aberdeen and the exposure of the administrative scandals of the Crimean winter. Palmerston, though always posing as a Whig, remained in many points true to the traditions of the Canningite Tories, to whom he had belonged in his youth. He believed in a firm foreign policy and the protection of British interests wherever they were endangered. He thought that political reform had gone far enough in 1832, and had no desire to tamper with the constitution. Small social and economic reforms he could tolerate, but he always found ingenious reasons for shelving the proposals of his more ardent followers when they tried to take up again the sort of legislation that had been predominant in the "thirties." The Radical members of his party chafed furiously against his apathetic attitude towards their projects, but till his death they could never succeed in getting their way. The fact was that the middle classes, in whose hands political power had lain since the Reform Bill, were very much of Palmerston's way of thinking, and had little or no wish to move on. They admired the old statesman's bustling and occasionally

boisterous foreign policy, enjoyed his slightly cynical humour, and had every confidence in his sterling common sense.

In many ways it was fortunate that domestic politics were in a very quiet state between 1855 and 1865, for foreign affairs were always in a difficult and more than once in a dangerous condition. The source of trouble was generally to be found in the tortuous and vacillating line of conduct pursued by Napoleon III., who was always endeavoring to fish in troubled waters, and to maintain his difficult seat on the French throne by theatrical triumphs of the military or diplomatic sort. Though he maintained as a rule an appearance of friendship for England, yet we always found him a slippery ally, and were at least once on the verge of war with him. There is always a temptation to a French military despot to think of revenging Waterloo.

Our foreign troubles after the Peace of Paris, however, were not all due to Napoleon. The first was a short Persian war, a sort of after-swell following in the wake of the Crimean struggle. The Shah Nasr-ed-din, acting under Russian influence, had tried to conquer Afghanistan and taken Herat. To cause him to desist, we sent a small force to the Persian Gulf, which seized the port of Bushire and pushed into the country, still the Shah, whose troops showed little capacity for war, asked for peace and evacuated Herat (March, 1857). The little army under Outram and Havelock, which had won this success, was fortunately available for the suppression of the Great Indian Mutiny in the following summer. Of that fearful convulsion we shall have to speak in the chapter that deals with our Colonial empire.

The second struggle in which we became involved was a quarrel with China in 1856. The governor of Canton, acting with the usual stupid arrogance and obstinacy of Chinese officials, had seized a vessel flying the English flag, and refused to apologize for his act. This led to an expedition against Canton, and ultimately to open war. But the troops which were sent, in 1857, for the invasion of

China had to be diverted to India, and it was not till the Mutiny was at an end that we were able to resume our advance. In 1858, however, a fleet and army threatened Peking, and after the forts of the Peiho river had been stormed, the emperor asked for peace, and received it on promising to make reparation, and to open several "treaty ports" to English trade by the Treaty of Tien-Tsing. These engagements were never carried out, and in 1859 we had again to bring pressure on the Chinese. This time we were leagued with the French, who had grievances of their own in the country. The Peiho forts were again stormed, Peking taken, and the Summer Palace of the emperor plundered and burnt, as a punishment for the treacherous murder of some British envoys, who had been negotiating with the mandarins. Convinced that the "barbarians" were too strong for them, the Chinese court then made abject apologies, paid a fine of 8,000,000 taels of silver, and ratified the former treaty of Tien-Tsing (October, 1860).

Long before the lingering Chinese war had ended, England had been interested in grave troubles nearer home. In January, 1858, while the Indian Mutiny was still raging, and all our attention was concentrated upon its suppression, we were suddenly brought into collision with the French Government. Some republican fanatics in Paris, headed by an Italian, named Orsini, had made an attempt to assassinate Napoleon III. by hurling explosive bombs at him as he drove to the opera. He escaped himself, but ten persons were killed and over one hundred injured by the deadly machines. The French press and people were naturally roused to fury, and when it was found that Orsini had organized his plot and made his bombs in London, they turned much of their anger against England. The emperor's ambassador wrote strongly worded despatches calling on Palmerston to give securities against the repetition of such conspiracies, and protesting that "persons placed beyond the pale of common rights and under the ban of humanity" found shelter in the English

capital. Far more violent language was heard in Paris, and one famous address offered to the emperor by a number of French officers besought him to let them destroy "the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal are planned."

These threats roused an equal anger on this side of the Channel, where it was supposed that the emperor wished to bully the Government while our army was engaged in India, and a strong anti-French agitation arose. Palmerston, however, on this occasion did not go with the impulse of the moment. He thought that something should be done to prevent London from becoming the centre of anarchist plots, and brought in his "Conspiracy to Murder" bill, which made persons convicted of planning political assassinations liable to penal servitude for life, even if the crime were to take place beyond seas. The measure was reasonable enough in itself, but so strongly was English national feeling excited at the moment, that Palmerston's measure was denounced as mere truckling to France. He was beaten by a small majority in the House of Commons, many Liberals joining the Tory opposition, and had to resign office (February 19, 1858).

According to the proper constitutional form, the Tories, headed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, were now invited to form a ministry. They complied, though the experiment was from the first hopeless, since they were in a very decided minority in the House of Commons. The gust of popular wrath which had swept Palmerston from office soon blew over, and the Conservatives had to recognize that they were only in power as stop-gaps. Mr. Disraeli, however, by a series of ingenious expedients, succeeded in tiding the new ministry over the whole session of 1858. In the next year his great idea was to bring in a Reform Bill, which would at once have the result of showing that the Tories were not hopeless reactionaries, and of embroiling the Liberals with the Radical wing of their party. The latter had long been asking for such measures, and it seemed that the Tories could hardly be opposed for bring-

ing them forward. Disraeli's bill lowered the franchise in the counties, giving all occupiers of £10 houses the vote, but at the same time proposed to qualify as electors all persons of education—graduates of universities, doctors, lawyers, and ministers of religion—as well as all persons who showed evidence of thrift by having £60 in the savings-bank. There was a great deal to be said for these proposals, but the Liberals chose to laugh them out of court as “fancy franchises,” and when the bill was rejected, Lord Derby had to dissolve Parliament (March, 1859) and to resign, when the new House showed itself as much in the power of his enemies as the last.

This short Tory ministry, in 1858-59, is mainly remembered for two useful pieces of work which it carried out. The first was the abolition of the East India Company, and the replacing of its administration in Hindostan by a new Imperial Government (August, 1858), a step which the Mutiny had made absolutely necessary. The second was the starting of the Volunteer movement in the spring of 1859. This last was the result of the threatened rupture with France in the previous year: the nation had been terrified at the idea of being caught in an unexpected war with an unscrupulous neighbour, when the whole army was abroad. By a very logical and at the same time patriotic impulse, it resolved to supply the much-needed army for home defence by taking arms itself. The moment that the scheme was broached it was received with enthusiasm; before the end of the year 180,000 men had been enrolled, who undertook to arm, clothe, and train themselves at their own expense, and to be ready to take the field whenever there should be danger of an invasion of the realm. The result has been to give England a second line of defence, which is now counted as a serious item in the national strength, though for some years it was not treated with much courtesy by War Office officials, or taken very seriously by old-fashioned members of the regular army.

When Lord Palmerston returned to office in 1859 with his old colleagues at his back, he found himself face to face

with a great European war. The French emperor had turned off on Austria the wrath which in 1858 had seemed to be directed against England. Posing as the champion of the rights of nationalities, he promised his aid to Sardinia, if she should attempt once more, as in 1848, to free the rest of Italy from Austrian tyranny. The great Sardinian minister Cavour took the hint, and began to urge his master, King Victor Emmanuel, to arm. Remonstrances by the Austrian Government were soon followed by war, in which France at once joined. But after beating the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino, and clearing them out of Lombardy, Napoleon soon showed that he was no unselfish enthusiast, but a mere speculator. He suddenly made peace, to the great disgust of the Italians, ceded Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel, but paid himself by annexing to France the Sardinian province of Savoy, the ancient home of his ally's ancestors. Three reasons had guided the emperor to this ungenerous step: he did not wish to drive Austria to such extremity that she could never again be his friend, and he was somewhat afraid lest Prussia might attack him on the Rhine frontier while all his army was locked up in Lombardy. Moreover, he did not wish to create an Italian kingdom large enough to become a great European power. But in this last respect his selfish plans were foiled: deserted by France, the Italians finished the work for themselves. A series of insurrections, in 1850-60, expelled the petty princes of Central Italy, and in the latter year the patriot adventurer Garibaldi threw himself into Sicily with a handful of followers, and overturned in that island and in Naples the rule of the cruel and imbecile House of Bourbon. In every state a popular vote hailed Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia as King of United Italy; only Rome and Venice failed to fall into the new kingdom, since they were held down, the one by French and the other by Austrian bayonets (February, 1861).

On the progress of affairs in Italy the English cabinet and nation looked with much satisfaction, and Garibaldi received a splendid welcome when he visited Great Britain

in 1862. But troubles were impending in other quarters which were not to end so happily. The oppressed people of Poland made a desperate attempt at insurrection in 1862-63. Great sympathy was felt for them in this country, and Lord John Russell even made intervention in their favour with the Russian Government. But we were not prepared to go to war with the Tzar single-handed, and Napoleon III. would not listen to any further schemes in favour of oppressed nationalities after his experiences in Italy. Our appeals were quietly passed over by the Russians, and Poland was dragooned into submission.

Much the same humiliation fell upon us in another matter in the succeeding year (1863-64). The German inhabitants of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were desirous of seceding from the kingdom of Denmark. Count Bismarck, the unscrupulous and iron-handed minister of the new King of Prussia, gave them armed help, and persuaded Austria, for reasons of national sentiment, to do the same. Against two such enemies the unfortunate Danes could do nothing; when their small army was driven northward, they made piteous appeals for aid to the powers of Western Europe. England was profoundly moved at the spectacle of the crushing of Denmark by the two great military powers, and proffered her good offices for the conclusion of peace. On this occasion it was hoped that Napoleon III. might give his aid, for he was growing very suspicious of Prussia and her prime minister. But once more the emperor proved a broken reed; he had other schemes in hand, and would not interfere to help the Danes. With great regret Palmerston had to confess that his intervention had come to nothing. Prussia and Austria forced Denmark to her knees, and made her cede not only the German districts of Holstein and Schleswig, but some purely Danish territory. These acquisitions the victorious powers then proceeded to parcel out among themselves, though they had pretended to take arms in order to enable them to attain their liberty as an independent German principality.

British hostility to Russia had arisen, chiefly from fear

lest she should, by gaining possession of Constantinople, cut off the passage to India. Alarm on this score had not been of recent growth. Partly in consequence of a desire to win the attachment of the natives of India as a security against foreign aggression, successive governors-general had, since Wellesley left India in 1805, devoted themselves to improve the condition of the people, and had for some time abstained from war as much as possible. Their reluctance to appeal to arms had, however, encouraged bands of plunderers known as Pindarrees, supported by the Mahratta chiefs whose power Wellesley had curtailed, but who still retained their independence. In 1817, the Marquis of Hastings, at that time governor-general, began the third Mahratta War. The Peishwah abdicated in favour of the British, and the other Mahratta chiefs were reduced to a condition of dependency, and gave no more shelter to robbers. Hastings completed Wellesley's work, by making the power of the East India Company absolutely predominant, and, after 1823, when he left India, there were, indeed, wars occasionally on a small scale, but for some years the chief feature of Indian history was its peaceful progress.

The suppression of internal disorder did not relieve the Government of India from anxiety lest increasing prosperity within should tempt invaders from without. Secured on the north by the lofty wall of the Himalayas, India, until the arrival of the British by sea, had always been invaded by enemies pouring across its north-western frontier from the passes of the highlands of Afghanistan; and it was from the same quarter that danger was now feared. For some time, indeed, a sufficient bulwark had been erected by the establishment in the Punjab—the land of the five rivers—of the Sikhs, a warlike people with a special religion, neither Mahomedan nor Hindoo. The Sikhs were strongly organised for military purposes under a capable ruler, Runjeet Singh, who had entered in 1806 into a treaty with the British which to the end of his life he faithfully observed. Under him the Sikhs covered the

British territory from an attack through Afghanistan, much in the same way that in the time of Warren Hastings the Nawab of Oude had covered it against the attacks of the Mahrattas.

When England and Russia were striving for the mastery at Constantinople, the two countries were necessarily thrown into opposition in Asia. In 1837, the Shah of Persia, who was under Russian influence, laid siege to Herat, on the eastern border of his own country. As Herat was on the road to India, Lord Auckland, the governor-general, took alarm, and, even before the siege was actually begun, sent an agent, Alexander Burnes, to Cabul to win over Dost Mahommed, the ruler of Afghanistan, to enter into an alliance with England against Persia, the ally of Russia. Burnes, knowing that soft words would not suffice to gain the heart of Dost Mahommed, offered him British aid in his own quarrels. Auckland, however, refused to carry out the engagement made by Burnes, on which Dost Mahommed, taking offence, allied himself with Russia. In 1838, Auckland sent an expedition to dethrone Dost Mahommed, and to replace him by Shah Soojah, an Afghan prince who had been living in exile in India. Before the expedition started, the siege of Herat had been raised by the Persians, and there was, therefore, no longer any real excuse for an attack on the fierce and warlike Afghans.

Nevertheless, the British army entered Afghanistan in 1839, and, reaching Cabul in safety, placed Shah Soojah on the throne. In 1840, Dost Mahommed knowing that he could not carry on a successful resistance in the field, surrendered himself as a prisoner. So peaceful was the outlook that Sir William Macnaghten, who had charge of the political arrangements at Cabul, fancied that all danger was at an end. Suddenly, however, an insurrection broke out, and some of the British officers, amongst whom was Burnes, were murdered. Though the British were taken by surprise, they had still soldiers enough to attack the Afghans with every prospect of success, but General

Elphinstone, who was in command, refused to run the risk. On this the Afghans became still more daring, and, as food was growing short in the British cantonments, Macnaghten and Elphinstone offered to surrender the forts of Cabul to the enemy on condition of being supplied with provisions. Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Mahommed, invited Macnaghten to a conference and shot him dead with his own hand. The British officers then entered on a treaty with the murderer, who engaged to protect their army, if it would immediately return to India.

The retreat began on January 6, 1842. Snow and ice lay thickly on the passes over the lofty mountain ranges, which had to be climbed before the plains of India were reached. Akbar Khan did what he could to protect the retreating regiments, but he could not restrain his followers. Crowds of Afghans stationed themselves on the rocks which rose above the track, and shot down the fugitives. With the retreating soldiers were English ladies, some of them with children to care for. To save them from certain death they were surrendered to Akbar Khan, who promised to treat them kindly, and who, to his credit, kept his word. After five days' march, out of 14,500 men who left Cabul, no more than 4,000 remained alive. Each day the butchery was renewed. On the morning of the eighth day only sixty-five were left, and this scanty remnant of a mighty host struggled on to reach Jellalabad in which there was a British garrison. Of these, sixty-four were slain on the way; after which the Afghans, believing that all their enemies had perished, returned in triumph. One Englishman, however, Dr. Brydon, who had lagged behind because both he and the pony on which he rode were too exhausted to keep up with the march, escaped their notice. Fainting and scarcely able to speak, he at last stumbled into Jellalabad, and told the tale of the great disaster.

Jellalabad held out against all the Afghans who could be brought against it. Then General Pollock was sent to retrieve the honour of the British arms. He occupied Cabul,

but he had to replace Dost Mahommed on the throne, and to content himself with recovering the British captives.

Lord Ellenborough, who had succeeded Auckland as governor-general, coveted Sindh, because he wished to control the lower course of the Indus. He brought accusations of treachery against the Ameers who ruled it, some of which appear to have been based on forged letters. He then sent against the Ameers Sir Charles Napier, who, fighting against tremendous odds, defeated them at Meanee. Sindh was annexed, and its inhabitants, being far better governed than before, rapidly became prosperous and contented.

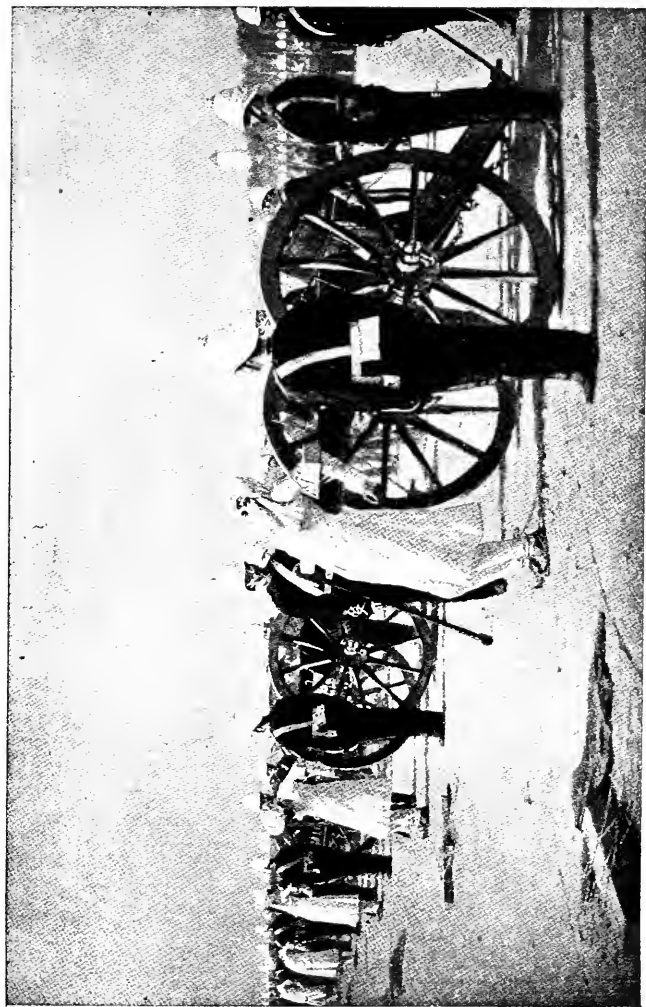
Runjeet Singh, "the lion of the Punjab," as he was called, died in 1839. His succession was disputed, and the Government really fell into the hands of the Sikh army, which raised to power one competitor after another amidst scenes of bloodshed. The governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, himself a soldier, had succeeded Ellenborough in 1843. He was anxious to keep the peace, but the mutinous Sikh army was under no restraint, and on December 11, 1845, it crossed the Sutlej and poured into British territory. Never had a British army in India met antagonists so formidable. Yet in two fierce battles, at Ferozeshah and Moodkee, the invaders were repulsed by Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief. The Sikhs, however, were not disheartened. In January, 1846, they were again defeated by Sir Henry Smith at Aliwal, and finally, on February 8, their entrenched camp at Sobraon, on the Sutlej, though defended by more powerful artillery than could be brought against them, was stormed by Gough. After these defeats, the Sikhs submitted, yielding the territory between the Sutlej and the Beas.

In 1848 there was a second Sikh war. On January 13, 1849, Gough—now Lord Gough—met with a check at Chillianwalla, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out to succeed him as commander-in-chief. Before Napier arrived, Gough gained a decisive victory at Gujerat. On this the whole of the Punjab was annexed. Chiefly under the firm

and kindly management of two brothers, Henry and John Lawrence, the Punjab was reduced to order and contentment, and the very Sikh soldiers who had been the most dangerous antagonists of the British Government were converted into its most unwavering supporters.

When the second Sikh war was being fought, Lord Dalhousie was the governor-general, and he continued to rule India for eight years, from 1848 to 1856. He was impressed with the advantages which would accrue to the native population by being brought under British rule, and he annexed one territory after another. In his time the Punjab, Sattara, Nagpoor, Lower Burmah, and finally Oude, were brought directly under British authority either by conquest or by the dethronement of the native princes. Lord Dalhousie's intentions were undoubtedly good, but he irritated an influential class of natives by his entire disregard of their feelings and prejudices. Especially was this the case when, as happened at Sattara, territory was seized, on the ground that the native ruler, being childless, was without an heir. The Hindoos, like the old Romans, regard an adopted son and a real son as standing on exactly the same footing, and, as in the case of the old Romans, this idea was based on the religious belief that the father needed a son to perform certain sacrifices for his benefit after death. When, therefore, Lord Dalhousie refused to acknowledge the adopted son of the Rajah of Sattara as his successor, he was guilty, in Hindoo opinion, of an unjust and irreligious act. Moreover, Lord Dalhousie alienated, especially in Oude and the North-West Provinces, an influential class of native gentlemen because the officials supported by him took every opportunity of depriving them of certain rights which they claimed over the land, and which they had long exercised. Though this was done with the benevolent intention of sweeping away all middle-men standing between the officers of the Government and the cultivators, whom they wished to shield from wrong, the result was none the less deplorable.

In 1856, Lord Canning, a son of the Prime Minister



PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELLIOUS SEPOYS, BY SHOOTING THEM FROM THE MOUTH OF THE CANNON

George Canning, became governor-general. By that time some of the dispossessed princes and most of the offended native gentlemen had formed a conspiracy against the British Government, which they held to have been unjust towards them and which in some cases had really been so. The conspirators aimed at securing the support of the Bengal Sepoy army, which had also been alarmed by certain acts in which the Government had not shown itself sufficiently careful of their feelings and prejudices. Most of the Sepoys were Hindoos, and all Hindoos are divided into castes, and believe that the man who loses his caste is not only disgraced in the present life but suffers misery after death. This loss of caste is not the penalty for moral faults, but for purely bodily actions, such as eating out of the same vessel as one of a lower caste. Caste, too, is lost by eating any part of the sacred animal, the cow, and, as a new rifle had been lately served out, the conspirators easily frightened the mass of the Sepoys into the belief that the cartridges for this rifle were greased with cow's fat. When, therefore, they bit the new cartridges, as soldiers then had to do, before loading, their lips would touch the cow's grease and they would at once lose caste. It was said that the object of the Government was to render the men miserable by depriving them of the shelter of their own religion in order to drive them to the adoption of Christianity in despair.

In the spring of 1857, there were attempts to mutiny near Calcutta, but the actual outbreak occurred at Meerut, near Delhi. There the native regiments first massacred their English officers and such other Englishmen as they met with, and then marched to Delhi, where they proclaimed the descendant of the Great Mogul, who was living there as a British pensioner, Emperor of India. Canning did what he could by sending for British troops from other parts of India, and also for a considerable force which happened to be at sea on its way to take part in a war which had broken out with China. His position was, however, exceedingly precarious till further reinforcements could be

brought from England. His best helper was Sir John Lawrence, who had governed the recently annexed Punjab with such ability and justice that the Sikh warriors, so lately the fierce enemies of the British, were ready to fight in their behalf. As the Sikhs did not profess the Hindoo religion, there was, in their case, no difficulty about caste. With their aid Lawrence disarmed the Sepoys in the Punjab, and sent all the troops he could spare to besiege Delhi. Delhi, however, was a strong place, and, as the besiegers were few, months elapsed before it could be taken.

The mutiny spread to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, where the few Englishmen in the place were driven into the Residency with Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir John's brother, at their head, to hold out, if they could, till help arrived. At Cawnpore, not far off, were about five hundred British women and children, and less than five hundred British men were besieged by one Nana Sahib, who hated the English on account of wrongs which he conceived himself to have suffered at their hands. After they had endured terrible hardships, Nana Sahib offered to allow the garrison to depart in safety. The offer was accepted and the weary defenders made their way to the boats waiting for them on the river, where they were shot down from the bank. Some of the women and children were kept alive for a few days, but in the end all were massacred, and their bodies flung into a well. Only four of the defenders of Cawnpore escaped to tell the miserable tale.

The mutiny, widely spread as it was, was confined to the Bengal Presidency. In Lucknow, though Sir Henry Lawrence had been slain, the garrison held out in the Residency. At last Havelock, a brave, pious officer, who prayed and taught his men to pray as the Puritan soldiers had prayed in Cromwell's time, brought a small band through every obstacle to its relief. Before he reached the place Sir James Outram joined him, authorised by the Government to take the command out of his hands. Outram, however, honourably refused to take from Havelock the credit of the achievement. "To you," wrote Outram

to Havelock, "shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you, placing my military service at your disposal, should you please, and serving under you as a volunteer." Thus supported, Havelock relieved Lucknow on September 25, but he had not men enough to drive off the besiegers permanently, and Outram, who, after the city had been entered, took the command, had to wait for relief in turn. Delhi had already been taken by storm on September 19.

Soon after the relief of Lucknow Sir Colin Campbell, who afterwards became Lord Clyde, arrived with reinforcements from England, and finally suppressed the mutiny. In 1858, Parliament put an end to the authority of the East India Company. Thenceforth the Governor-General was brought directly under the Queen, acting through a British Secretary of State for India responsible to Parliament. There was also to be an Indian Council in England composed of persons familiar with Indian affairs, in order that the Secretary of State might have the advice of experienced persons. On assuming full authority, the Queen issued a proclamation to the peoples and princes of India. To the people she promised complete toleration in religion, and admission to office of qualified persons. To the princes she promised scrupulous respect for their rights and dignities. To all she declared her intention of respecting their rights and customs. It is in this last respect especially that the proclamation laid down the lines on which administration of India will always have to move if it is to be successful. Englishmen cannot but perceive that many things are done by the natives of India which are in their nature hurtful, unjust, or even cruel, and they are naturally impatient to remove evils that are very evident to them. The lesson necessary for them to learn is the one which Walpole taught their own ancestors, that it is better to leave evils untouched for a while than to risk the overthrow of a system of government which, on the whole, works beneficently. It is one thing to endeavour

to lead the people of India forward to a better life, another thing to drag them forward and thereby to provoke a general exasperation which would lessen the chances of improvement in the future, and might possibly sweep the reforming government itself away.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

[1861-1865]

NEITHER the Polish nor the Danish question has ever brought England within measurable distance of war. Palmerston's policy with regard to them, which Lord Derby rather harshly described as "meddling and muddling," had never committed us to any dangerous step. But while these European struggles were in progress, another and a greater war was raging across the Atlantic, in which we were more than once nearly involved. This was the famous War of Secession, which started in May, 1861, and lasted till April, 1865. For many years there had been an ever-growing bitterness between the Northern and the Southern States of the American Union. The masses of the North were manufacturing and protectionist; the South was ruled by an aristocracy of planters, was wholly agricultural, and had a strong desire for Free Trade. The natural grudges between them took form in bitter quarrels on two points, "state rights" and slavery. The Southern rice and cotton fields were worked by slave-labour; in the North there was a strong abolitionist party, which carried on a vigorous propaganda against the "divine institution," which now only survived elsewhere in benighted regions such as Brazil and Cuba. But though the question of slavery was at the bottom of much of the bitterness between North and South, the constitutional dispute about "state rights" came much more to the front at the beginning of the struggle. The wording of the American Constitution made it quite possible to hold different views as to the powers and duties of the individual

states whose alliance formed the Union. In the South the tendency was all in favour of local independence; in the North, more was thought of the central government and the rights of majorities.

In 1860, the "Democratic" party, which mainly represented the Southern States, was defeated at the presidential election, and Abraham Lincoln, a "Republican," from Illinois, who was known as an opponent of "state rights" and an abolitionist, came into power in January, 1861. Seeing that the machinery of government, which they had of late controlled, was about to slip from their hands, the Southerners resolved on desperate measures. In the spring that followed, eleven States seceded from the Union and formed a new league, to which they gave the name of the "Confederate States of North America." The Northern majority utterly refused to recognize the legality of the secession, and set to work at once to crush the malcontents by force of arms. War at once broke out along the whole frontier from Virginia to Missouri. At first the Confederates proved fully able to maintain themselves on land, but at sea they were utterly outmatched, for the whole regular navy had passed into the hands of the North, which also owned nine-tenths of the seafaring population of the States. The Federals at once established a blockade of all the southern ports; at first it was intermittent and ineffective, but it grew more and more real, till at last "blockade-runners" could only leave or enter the harbours of the Confederates by the happiest combinations of luck and skill.

Great Britain was affected in the most acute fashion by the war of Secession. Not only were we accustomed to draw great quantities of rice and tobacco from the South, but the Lancashire cotton industry was mainly dependent for its raw material on the American plantations. India, Egypt, and other Eastern producers were only just commencing to appear in the Manchester market as serious rivals of the Western cotton-grower. The gradual stoppage of the export of the Southern cotton as the Federal

blockade grew strict, began to cause the most terrible distress in Lancashire, where many mills had to close from actual want of stuff to keep their machinery going. Skilled artisans were thrown out of work at the rate of ten thousand a week, and the evil seemed likely to grow worse and worse, for the war showed no signs of coming to an end.

In 1861, when it became evident that the Confederates were not likely to be suppressed in a few months, as the Northerners had hoped, Lord Palmerston had recognized them as belligerents. This action greatly vexed the Federals, who persisted in treating them as mere rebels destitute of any legal rights. Public opinion on this side of the Atlantic was much divided in its sympathies during the war. To some it appeared in the simple light of a struggle to abolish slavery, and such persons could not but side with the North. On the other hand, many thought that the right of secession ought not to be denied to a unanimous people, and that the South had as good a title to free itself as Italy had to drive out the Austrian. Others, again, disliked the Northerners as jealous commercial rivals and bitter opponents of free trade, and were glad to see them in difficulties. Politicians, too, were to be found who thought that the balance of power in the world would be better kept if the vast republic in the West split asunder. On the whole, England was not unequally divided on the question; if anything, the balance of sympathy was on the side of the South. But this was largely owing to unwise action on the part of President Lincoln's government, who did their best to put themselves in the wrong. In 1862, the captain of a Federal man-of-war committed an extraordinary breach of international law, by stopping and searching on the high seas the English mail steamer *Trent*, in order to take from it two Confederate envoys who were travelling from Havana to Europe. The ship was voyaging between two neutral ports, and the envoys were manifestly non-combatants, but the United States authorities refused to see the error of their ways,

and only surrendered Messrs. Mason and Slidell after a long and acrid controversy, and when Lord Palmerston had actually begun to hurry a considerable army into Canada. This ungracious act was long remembered with bitterness.

The state of Lancashire, too, was well calculated to exasperate British opinion. By the summer of 1862 the whole of the cotton manufacturing district was in a state of semi-starvation, and the cotton famine grew worse in the winter that followed. The population was only kept alive by lavish charity. More than £2,000,000 were subscribed for their aid, besides £600,000 contributed by Government. The distribution was so energetically and skillfully made that actual starvation was kept at bay, and the death-rate of Lancashire was no worse than that of the rest of England. But the misery suffered was acute, and it was not till 1863 that it commenced to abate, as cotton was brought in from new and distant sources of supply to fill the place of the missing bales from Charleston and New Orleans.

After balancing from one side to the other during the years 1862-63, the tide of victory began to flow definitely in favour of the Federals during 1864. The South was exhausted even by her victories, and her supplies of men and money were running too low to enable her to cope much longer with an adversary who could draw upon double her population and four times her wealth. In these latter years of the war, the desperate resolve of the Confederates to strike at their victorious foe in every possible manner was shown by their reckless use of privateering, which was destined to bring England into trouble, and to give the Federals a legitimate grievance. It is, of course, illegal for neutrals to fit out warships for a belligerent, but Southern agents more than once succeeded in getting ships prepared in English dockyards, and then passed out to sea in order to become Confederate privateers. The case of the *Alabama* is the best known. This vessel was denounced to the Government by the United States minister as being a disguised warship, which was

indeed the fact. But the authorities were unduly slow in ordering her detention. She slipped out of Liverpool by night, got to sea, and became a terror to Northern shipping for some two years. For the Cabinet's slackness England had somewhat later to pay the tremendous bill of the *Alabama* claims. The American war came to an end April, 1865, with the fall of Richmond, the Confederate capital, and the surrender of the Southern armies.

Palmerston survived to see the struggle finish, but died a few months later (October 18, 1865); he had kept up his power of work to the last, though he had reached the ripe age of eighty-one. With his removal from the scene a new epoch in English politics begins, in which foreign affairs were no longer to be so all-important, nor domestic politics so dull, as they had been in the days of the last of the Whig prime ministers. The tendency towards democratic reforms and general change, which Palmerston had succeeded in stifling during his own day, broke out strongly when he was gone.

CHAPTER X

THE MINISTRY OF EARL RUSSELL

[1865-66]

RUSSELL, who had been created Earl Russell in 1861, succeeded Palmerston as Prime Minister, and Gladstone became leader of the House of Commons. When the session opened in 1866, the ministry introduced a Reform Bill, with the object of lowering the franchise in counties and boroughs. The majority in the House of Commons did not care about reforms, and though the House did not directly throw out the Bill, so many objections were raised, mainly by dissatisfied Liberals, and so much time was lost in discussing them, that the ministry came to the conclusion that the House did not wish to pass it. On this they resigned, intending to show by so doing that they really cared about the Bill, and were ready to sacrifice office for its sake.

For the third time Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Disraeli again as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. It soon appeared that, though the House of Commons cared little for reform, the working-men cared for it much. Crowded and enthusiastic meetings were held in most of the large towns in the North. In London, the Government having prohibited a meeting appointed to be held in Hyde Park, the crowd, finding the gates shut, broke down the railings and rushed in. Disraeli, quick to perceive that the country was determined to have reform, made up his mind to be the minister to give it; and, as he was able to carry his usual supporters with him, the opposition of the discontented Liberals—through which the Reform Bill of the last ses-



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD
(Born 1805. Died 1881)

sion had been wrecked—was rendered innocuous. At the opening of the session of 1867, Disraeli first proposed a series of resolutions laying down the principles on which reform ought to be based. Finding that the House of Commons preferred an actual Bill, he sketched out the plan of a Bill, and then, as it did not please the House, withdrew it and brought in a second Bill very different from the one which he had first proposed. Three Cabinet ministers, one of whom was Lord Cranborne (who afterwards became Lord Salisbury), resigned rather than accept a Bill so democratic as the final proposal. Before the Bill got through the House of Commons it became still more democratic. In its final shape every man who paid rates in the boroughs was to have a vote, and in towns therefore household suffrage was practically established, whilst even lodgers were allowed to vote if they paid 10*l.* rent and had resided in the same lodgings for a whole year. In the counties the franchise was given to all who inhabited houses at 12*l.* rental whilst the old freehold suffrage of 40*s.* was retained. At least in towns large enough to return members separately, the working-men would henceforth have a voice in managing the affairs of the nation. In 1868, Bills were carried changing on similar principles the franchise in Scotland and Ireland. In England and Scotland there was also a redistribution of seats, small constituencies being disfranchised and their members given to large ones.

The year of the second Reform Act was one of trouble in Ireland. The discontented in Ireland were now supported by an immense population of Irish in America, the whole of which was hostile to England, and large numbers of which had acquired military discipline in the American Civil War. A secret society, whose members were known as Fenians, sprang up on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of the military Irish returned from America to Ireland, and in March 1867 a general rising was attempted in Ireland. Heavy snow-storms made the movements of the insurgents impossible, and this effort to bring about a com-

plete separation between Ireland and England was suppressed with little bloodshed. Numbers of Irish, as well those residing in England as those who remained in their own country, sympathised with the Fenians. In Manchester, some of these rescued some Fenian prisoners from a prison van, and in the course of the struggle a shot was fired which killed a policeman. Five of the rescuers were tried in November, and three were hanged. In December, other Irishmen blew down with gunpowder the wall of Clerkenwell Prison, in which two Fenians were confined, hoping to liberate the prisoners.

In February 1868, Disraeli became Prime Minister, Lord Derby having resigned in consequence of the state of his health. It had by this time become evident to the principal Liberals that Irish discontent must be caused by grievances which it behoved the British Parliament to remedy. Accordingly, Gladstone proposed and carried resolutions calling for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Disraeli dissolved Parliament, as he was obliged in any case to do in order to allow the new constituencies created by the Reform Act to choose their representatives. The new Parliament contained a large Liberal majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. In 1869, he brought in and carried a Bill disestablishing and disendowing the Protestant Church of Ireland, which was the Church of the minority.

In 1870, the Government attacked the more difficult question of Irish land. An Irish Land Act was now passed which obliged landlords to compensate their tenants for improvements made by them, and to give them some payment if they turned them out of their holding for any reason except for not paying their rent. Tenants who desired to buy land from their landlords might receive loans from the Government to enable them to become owners of farms which they had rented. The Act had less effect than was intended, as the landlord, being allowed to come to an agreement with a tenant that the Act should not in his case be enforced, had usually sufficient influence over

his tenants to induce them to abandon all claim to the benefits which Parliament intended them to receive.

In the same year, Forster, who was one of the ministers, introduced a new system of education in primary schools in England. Up to this time the Government had been allowed by Parliament to grant money to schools on condition that a sum at least equal to the grant was raised by school fees and local subscriptions, and that the Government inspectors were satisfied that the children were properly taught. By the new Education Act, wherever there was a deficiency in school accommodation, the rate-payers were to elect a School Board with authority to draw upon the rates for the building and maintenance of as many schools as the Committee of the Privy Council appointed to decide on questions of education thought to be necessary—which School Boards had authority to compel parents who neglected the education of their children to send them either to the Board School or to some other efficient school. At these schools the Bible was to be read and explained, but no religious instruction according to the principles of any special religious body was to be given in school hours.

Whilst these events were occurring in England great changes had taken place on the Continent. In 1866, a war had broken out between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria supported by the great majority of the German states on the other. The Austrians were completely defeated by the Prussians at Sadowa in Bohemia, though at Custozza they defeated the Italians, who had allied themselves with Prussia. The result was that when peace was made, Venetia was ceded to Italy, whilst in Germany, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort were annexed to Prussia, and the whole of the country to the north of the Main formed into a North German Confederation under Prussian supremacy.

The French growing jealous of the success of Prussia, in 1870 the Emperor Napoleon picked a quarrel with the King of Prussia. In the war which followed the whole of

Germany sided with Prussia. The German army was thoroughly prepared for war, and had a consummate strategist, Count Moltke, to direct its operations, whilst the French army was in utter confusion. The Germans invaded France, and, after defeating outlying bodies of French troops at Wörth and Forbach, overthrew the main army under Bazaine at Gravelotte. Driving Bazaine into Metz, they left a large part of their force to block him up in the town, whilst they advanced towards Paris with the remainder. On the way, learning that Napoleon was marching to relieve Bazaine, they turned upon him and completely defeated him at Sedan, making both him and his whole army prisoners. On this the Parisians established a Republic, but the Germans pressed on, laid siege to Paris, in the meanwhile forcing the French army in Metz to capitulate. The Republican Government made an heroic resistance, but in March, 1871, Paris capitulated and peace was made; France having to pay a large sum of money and to cede to Germany Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine. Before this the southern German princes had agreed to combine with the northern princes in a new German Empire, and William I., king of Prussia, was proclaimed hereditary German Emperor at Versailles. As France had been obliged to call home the garrison which she had hitherto kept at Rome, the Italian troops entered that city, thus completing Italian unity under the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.

In these wars England took no part. Government and Parliament continued to pay attention to domestic reforms. Hitherto regimental officers in the army had been allowed, on voluntarily retiring from the service, to receive a sum of money from the senior officer beneath them who was willing or able to pay the price for the creation of a vacancy to which he would be promoted over the heads of officers who, though they were his own seniors, did not pay the money. A poor officer, therefore, could only be promoted when vacancies above him were caused by death.

A Government Bill for the abolition of this practice passed the Commons, but was laid aside by the Lords till a complete measure of army-reform, which had been joined to the Bill when it was first brought into the Commons, should be produced. Gladstone, taking this to be equivalent to the rejection of the Bill, obtained from the Queen the withdrawal of the warrant by which purchase was authorised, thus settling by a stroke of the prerogative a measure which he had at first hoped to pass by the authority of Parliament. His action on this occasion lost him the good will of some of his best and most independent supporters, whilst large numbers of Dissenters had been alienated from the Government because the Education Act had not entirely put an end to the giving of religious instruction in schools, and thus relieved them from the fear that the religious belief of the children would be influenced by the teaching of Church of England schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

All members of the Liberal party, however, concurred in supporting a Bill introduced by Forster in 1872 for establishing secret voting by means of the ballot. The Ballot Act, which passed in this year, made it impossible to know how any man's vote was given, and consequently enabled persons dependent on others for their livelihood or advancement to give their votes freely without fear of being deprived of employment if they voted otherwise than their employers wished. The work of the first Gladstone ministry was in some respects like the work of the ministry of Lord Grey after the first Reform Act. In both cases the accession of a new class to a share of power was followed by almost feverish activity in legislation, in the one case in accordance with the ideas of the middle classes, in the other case in accordance with the ideas of the artisans. In both cases vigorous progress was followed by a reaction. Many who had applauded what was done had no desire to see more done in the same direction, and, as always happens when people are no longer in accord with the ideas of a ministry, they fix angrily on mistakes committed and

think of unavoidable misfortunes as though they were intentional mistakes. Some of the ministers, moreover, made themselves unpopular by the discourtesy of their language.

The foreign policy of the Government made it unpopular. One result of the great war between France and Germany in 1871 was that Russia refused to be any longer bound by the treaty of 1856 to abstain from keeping ships of war in the Black Sea, and the English Government, as a matter of necessity, but to its own grievous injury at home, agreed to a conference being held between the representatives of the great Powers in London, at which the stipulations objected to by Russia were annulled. Another cause of the unpopularity of the Government was its agreement in 1871 to refer to arbitration the claims which had been brought forward by the United States for compensation for damages inflicted on their commercial marine by the ravages of the "Alabama." In 1872, a Court of Arbitration sat at Geneva and awarded to the United States a sum of 15,000,000 dollars, or rather more than 3,000,000*l*.

The sum was regarded by many in England as excessive, but, whether this was so or not, it was well spent in putting an end to a misunderstanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. Since that time there has been an increasing readiness to submit disputes between nations to arbitration but those who admire this course sometimes forget that it is only in some cases that arbitration is acceptable. When two nations are desirous to live on good terms with one another and are only prevented from doing so by a dispute on some particular question of comparatively slight importance, it is not only possible, but in the highest degree desirable, that they should abide by the decision of arbitrators rather than go to war. Questions reaching to the permanent interests of a nation, and still more, questions touching its honour or its very existence, are not likely to be decided by arbitration. In 1872, England could honourably pay an unduly large sum of money rather than go to war. In 1859, the King of Sar-

dinia could not have been expected to submit to arbitration the question whether the Italian nation should be united or divided.

In 1873, the ministry brought in a Bill to establish in Ireland a new University which, in order that it might inspire confidence in Protestants and Catholics alike, was to be forbidden to teach the disputed but important subjects of theology, philosophy, and history. This singular Bill being rejected by the House of Commons, the ministers resigned. As, however, Disraeli refused to take office, they continued to carry on the government. In January, 1874, Parliament being dissolved, a large Conservative majority was returned. The ministry then resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister a second time. It was the first time since Peel's resignation that the Conservatives had held office, except on sufferance.

After the great war with France which ended in 1815, the colonies retained and acquired by England were valued either like the West India Islands because they produced sugar, or like the Cape of Good Hope because they afforded stations for British fleets which would be of the highest value in time of war. There were, no doubt, British emigrants who had left their homes to settle in Canada and Australia, but their numbers were not very great, and at the Cape of Good Hope the population was almost entirely of Dutch origin. Since that time the West India Islands have decreased in importance in consequence of the abolition of slavery, the throwing open of the British market to foreign sugar, and to defects in a system of cultivation which had been adopted in the time of slavery. On the other hand, there have grown up great and powerful communities, mainly composed of emigrants from Great Britain herself, self-governing like Great Britain herself, and held to the mother-country by the loosest possible ties. These communities are to be found in three parts of the globe—the Dominion of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa.

It has been supposed in England that the troubles which

had resulted in Canada from the dissensions between the British and French settlers had been brought to an end in 1841 by the legislative union of the two provinces. The British inhabitants of Upper Canada, however, complained of the influence exercised by the French of Lower Canada. To provide a remedy, an Act of the British Parliament created, in 1867, a federation known as the Dominion of Canada into which any existing colonies on the North American continent were to be allowed to enter. There was to be a governor-general appointed by the Crown, and a Dominion Parliament seated at Ottawa and legislating for matters of common concern, which was to consist of a Senate, the members of which are nominated for life by the governor-general on the advice of responsible ministers, and a House of Commons, the members of which are elected by constituencies in the provinces in proportion to the population of each province. The parliaments of the separate provinces retained in their own hands the management of their own local affairs. The provincial parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada were separated from one another, bearing respectively the names of the province of Ontario and the province of Quebec. To them were added as component parts of the Dominion Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Between 1870 and 1872 Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion. Newfoundland continues to hold aloof. The unoccupied lands of the north-west are placed under the control of the authorities of the Dominion, which thus combines under one government the whole of America north of the territory of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the exception of Newfoundland and its subject territory of Labrador.

The Australasian colonies are divided into two groups, those of Australia and those of New Zealand. The first British settlers in Australia were convicts, who arrived at Port Jackson in 1788. For many years the colony thus founded, under the name of New South Wales, remained a penal settlement. The convicts themselves, after serving

their time in servitude, became free, their children were free, and there was a certain amount of free emigration from Great Britain. In 1821, New South Wales had a population of 30,000, of which three-fourths were convicts. It had already been discovered that the country was peculiarly adapted to the production of wool, and the number of sheep in the colony rose from 25,000 in 1810 to 290,000 in 1821. From this time success was assured. Other colonies were founded in due course. Van Diemen's Land, afterwards known as Tasmania, was established as a separate colony in 1825. In the same year a small convict settlement was founded under the name of West Australia. South Australia received a separate government in 1836 under a British Act of Parliament passed in 1834. Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1850. By this time the free population, indignant at the constant influx of British criminals, resisted the importation of convicts so strenuously that in 1851 an end was put to the system of transportation to Australia except in the small and thinly populated colony of West Australia. In that year the population flocked to the newly discovered gold fields, and the attraction of gold brought an enormous number of immigrants from Great Britain. Queensland became a separate colony in 1859. In 1901, the white population of the whole of Australia numbered about 3,700,000. After a long delay, Tasmania and the five Australian colonies followed the example of the North American colonies, and set up a federal government. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being on January 1, 1901, in accordance with an Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. New Zealand, in which the white population reached 772,000 in 1901, has, since 1876, been governed by a single parliament, the seat of which is at Wellington.

The Cape Colony finally passed under British authority in 1806. In 1820, a stream of British immigration began to set in. The colony was under the disadvantage of having fierce and warlike Kaffir tribes on its north-eastern

frontier, and from 1834 onwards a series of wars with the Kaffirs broke out from time to time, which taxed to the uttermost the resources of the colonists and of the British regiments sent for their defence. Many of the Dutch, who were usually known as Boers or farmers, were dissatisfied with British rule, and in 1835 they began to migrate further north. Some settled in Natal, which, in 1843, became a British colony. Others founded the Orange River Free State and the Transvaal Republic, both of which the British Government finally recognised as independent states. In spite of emigration and Kaffir wars, the British colonists continually pressed further north, and in 1871 the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley attracted immigrants and capital to the colony. That which distinguishes the South African settlements of Great Britain from those in North America and Australia, is the enormous preponderance of a native population. Out of every six inhabitants five are natives. The total white population in 1891, excluding the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, amounted to about 430,000 persons.

BOOK XIII.
**THE LAST YEARS OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.**



CHAPTER XI.

The Disraeli (Beaconsfield) Administration.

The Suez Canal—The Russo-Turkish War.

The Treaty of Berlin—Parnellism.

The Boer War—Arabi's Rebellion.

[1866-1886]

The Conservatives came into office with a majority of more than fifty in February, 1874.

Disraeli had now for the first time a real opportunity of showing what the new Conservatism was like. He was completely master of his party, and had finished the process of "educating" it which he had begun twenty years before. In his six years' administration, 1874-1880, he was able to develop his policy in every direction that he chose. The two elements that went to make it, Imperialism abroad and cautious social reform at home, emerge very clearly in the annals of his tenure of power. If the former tendency seems to engross our attention more than the latter, it is largely because the lines of his ministry were cast in troublous days, when foreign policy became all-important.

The first two years of the Disraeli ministry (1874-75) were a time of peace and quiet, notable mainly for the number of moderate and unostentatious measures of social and economic reform which the Government succeeded in passing. Such were the Agricultural Holdings Bill, by which farmers obtained compensation for unexhausted improvements when giving up their land; the Artisans' Dwellings Bill, which secured better housing for the work-

men in great towns; and the Friendly Societies Act, which did much towards securing the better management of the savings of the poor.

The only striking event of this time was the interference of Disraeli in Egypt, in the matter of the Suez Canal shares, the first attempt of England to obtain a footing in that country, where French influence had hitherto been predominant. The whole conditions of Eastern trade had been changed in 1869-70 by the construction of a ship-canal through the Isthmus of Suez by the French engineer Lesseps. Its convenience attracted to the Red Sea route a growing proportion of the commerce which had hitherto gone to India, China, and Australia by the circuitous voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. It also put an end to the tiresome transshipment of goods and passengers landed at Alexandria, which had been necessary since the Overland Route was adopted. Some three-fourths of the tonnage which passed through the canal was English, and yet the control of the traffic was entirely in the hands of a grasping French company and a thriftless and oppressive Oriental despot. Luckily, the reckless extravagance of the Khedive Ismail landed him in financial difficulties, and while he was looking around for a purchaser for the 177,000 shares in the canal which he owned, the English Government stepped in with a prompt offer of £4,000,000 in ready cash. The offer, made by telegram, was accepted, and Disraeli was able to announce that England had become the owner of an interest in the canal amounting to almost half its value. This acquisition put our position in Egypt on an entirely new footing. But it was not only a political advantage, but a splendid financial stroke. The shares are now worth six times what was given for them, and the interest on them is an appreciable item in the national revenue.

In the following year, 1876, the political horizon of Europe, which had been fairly clear since the Franco-German war of 1870-71, began to grow overcast. An insurrection in Bosnia, which had been troubling the Turkish

Government for some time, began to grow serious and to draw the attention of the powers to the interminable Eastern Question. The Sultan Abdul-Aziz had taken no advantage of the long respite given to his realm by the Crimean war. In spite of many promises made by his brother and himself since 1854, the administration of the Ottoman empire remained as scandalous and oppressive as ever. The Porte had borrowed huge sums of money from Europe, but they had been employed, not to develop the empire, but to gratify the Sultan's caprices, or at the best to furnish his army with modern rifles and artillery. The Bosnian insurrection spread, and it was soon discovered that Russian emissaries, sent by patriotic Slavonic societies, were sustaining it, with or without the full consent of their Government. In the summer of 1876, the princes of Servia and Montenegro took arms to aid the insurgents, and when the Servian troops were reinforced by many thousands of Russian volunteers and placed under the command of a Russian general, it became evident that the Tzar's ministers were at the bottom of the trouble.

The first impulse of the English Government and people was to lend support to the Sultan, despite his notorious misrule, in order to keep Russia out of the Balkan Peninsula. But any such intentions which the Conservative cabinet may have cherished were foiled by the barbarities of the Turks themselves. While the Ottoman army was concentrated on the Servian frontier, a rising broke out among the Bulgarians. In the absence of regular troops, the Sultan put it down by employing hordes of Circassians and armed Mohammedan villagers, who displayed the same horrible cruelty which had been seen in the Greek insurrection of 1821, and was to be exhibited again in the Armenian massacres of 1897. When the news of the "Bulgarian Atrocities" reached England, Gladstone, who had nominally retired from politics in 1875, took the field again to denounce the Turks, and to protest against any action on the part of the English Government which might be held to encourage them. His crusade was completely

successful; public opinion was so deeply stirred, that the premier had to appease it by declaring that Great Britain had no intention of bolstering up the effete and corrupt Ottoman power, but must confine herself to defending her own interests in the East.

It was in no small degree owing to this turn of national feeling in England, that the Tzar was encouraged in the next year to declare war on Turkey (April, 1877), and sent his armies across the Danube to "deliver their Christian brethren from the infidel." The Ottomans made a much better fight than had been expected: the central government was weak—the reckless Abdul-Aziz had just been murdered, and his successor, Murad V., was almost an imbecile—but the army was courageous and well equipped. The obstinate defence of Plevna kept the Russian troops in Europe at bay for the whole autumn, and it was only when Plevna was starved out that the Russians burst over the Balkans at midwinter. Driving the remnants of the Turkish armies before them, they drew near Constantinople. At St. Stephano, not far from the gates of the city, they imposed on the Sultan a treaty by which he surrendered a large territory in Asia, and gave back the small slip at the Danube mouth which had been ceded by Russia after the Crimean war. The greater part of European Turkey was to be divided among Christian states, of which a new Bulgarian principality was to be the largest (March 3, 1878).

Disraeli—or rather Lord Beaconsfield, as he must be called since his migration to the Upper House in 1877—was determined not to let Russia settle the Eastern question by herself. He informed the Tzar's Government that the terms imposed on Turkey must be approved by a conference of all the powers. When no attention was paid to this demand, he sent a fleet up the Dardanelles, to the immediate vicinity of Constantinople; called out the reserves; obtained a grant of £6,000,000 for war preparations from parliament, and began to move Indian troops into the Mediterranean. These menaces brought the Tzar's ad-

visers to terms, and, rather than face a new war, they consented that the St. Stephano treaty should be revised. The process was carried out by delegates of the seven great powers, meeting at Berlin under the presidency of Prince Bismarek (June, 1878). By the treaty of Berlin Russia kept her own conquests, but the proposed Bulgarian state was to be split in two, and other powers were to take slices of Turkey for themselves. Austria was to occupy Bosnia, Greece was promised Thessaly, and England received the Isle of Cyprus. In return for this grant, she undertook to guarantee the integrity of the Sultan's remaining dominions in Asia, and also to see that the long-promised reforms were carried out therein.

Lord Beaconsfield and his colleague, Lord Salisbury, came back from Berlin claiming that they had obtained "Peace with honour," and in the main this was true. But the policy of the treaty lies open to much criticism. We were never able to get the Turks to carry out the projected reforms, which are much further from fulfilment in 1899 than they were in 1878. Our guarantee of the Turkish empire was never more than a farce. The island of Cyprus, held on a rather undignified tenure, proved barren and harbourless, and has never been of any use to us as a naval or military base. Crete would have been a far better choice. Bulgaria, so elaborately divided by the treaty, united itself by a revolution a few years later without any objection from any power. On the other hand, Russia had been humiliated by the revision of the St. Stephano terms, and owed England a grudge which could not easily be forgotten. These, however, were not the criticisms made on the Berlin Conference by the British opposition in 1878: the points then raised by Mr. Gladstone and his friends were that we might have joined Russia in bringing pressure on Turkey in 1877, after the Bulgarian atrocities, and so have prevented any war, and that it was unrighteous to offer any guarantee for the further maintenance of the barbarous and blood-stained Ottoman power. With the massacres of 1879 before us, it is difficult not to sympathize

with this last view. Fortunately our guarantee lapsed long ago.

The Conservatives had yet two years of power after the Berlin Treaty was signed; they were full of unfortunate incidents, for some of which the cabinet was responsible, while others were the results of mere ill luck. In our chapter on India and the colonies we shall have to deal with the Afghan war of 1878-80, with its record of fighting that was not always fortunate. It was a direct result of our quarrel with Russia, lest the Ameer should fall under Russian influence, and this was the originating cause of our invasion of his realm. The Zulu war of 1878-79 had no such direct connection with European politics; but when the disaster of Isandula made it unpopular Liberal orators did not fail to point out that such misfortunes were the result of Imperialistic greed and the maintenance of a "forward policy" in the colonies.

But in all probability the Government suffered more in public estimation from its Irish difficulties than from its foreign policy. The parliament of 1874-80 was the first in which the Home Rule party and its policy of systematic obstruction came to the front. Home Rule was practically a reversion to O'Connell's old demand for the repeal of the Union, the Fenian programme of complete separation and the establishment of an Irish republic being tacitly dropped. As long as the Home Rulers were led by the quiet and respectable Isaac Butt, they made no great stir. But with the appearance of the cynical and saturnine Charles Stuart Parnell as a party chief, things changed. The more violent members of the Home Rule faction tried the policy of obstructing in Parliament all public business, foreign and domestic, by interminable speeches, irrelevant amendments, got-up altercations, and vexatious counts out. Their object was that of the importunate widow in the parable—to make themselves such a nuisance that their demands might be conceded out of mere weariness and disgust. Throughout the years 1877-80 they were incessantly wasting time and driving to despair the mild and



THE BATTLE OF MAJUBA HILL.

kindly Sir Stafford Northcote, who had succeeded Lord Beaconsfield as leader of the House of Commons. At the same time they kept up a vigorous agitation against "landlordism" in the Irish countryside, which was accompanied with a running commentary of agrarian outrages, of which they disclaimed the responsibility. It cannot be denied that one result of their activity was to produce a general feeling in England that the Conservatives had proved themselves incapable of dealing with the Irish question.

In March, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield dissolved his parliament, which was now nearing its legal term of seven years. The general election was fought with more than usual acrimony, for the Liberals were stirred to great energy by Gladstone's "Midlothian speeches," in which he taunted the Conservatives as the advocates of unjust aggression all over the world, and the special friends of the Turk. His eloquence had no mean effect on the contest, and the Liberals came to the new Parliament with a splendid majority of one hundred. It boded ill for them, however, that the Home Rulers had swept all Ireland save Ulster, and appeared with nearly eighty members when the House met in the summer of 1880.

The second Gladstone ministry was destined to last just five years (June, 1880, to June, 1885). It was inaugurated with promises of the old Liberal panaceas, "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," but it turned out to be a period of wars and rumours of wars, of disaster abroad and venomous civil strife at home. Its opening incident showed that Gladstone's external policy might perhaps be righteous, but was certainly neither dignified nor successful. The Government was hardly in office before it was confronted with the revolt of the Boers of the Transvaal, a Dutch state which Lord Beaconsfield had annexed in 1877, to save its population from being overwhelmed by its Zulu neighbours. In 1880, the Zulus having been long crushed, the Boers rose in rebellion, destroyed several small detachments, and finally inflicted a disgraceful defeat on the British forces at Majuba Hill. The Government had at

first refused to treat with the insurgents, but after the first checks Mr. Gladstone came to the conclusion that they were patriots rightly struggling for independence, and, though large reinforcements were just reaching Natal, granted the Boers independence under the vaguest terms of suzerainty (March, 1881). Since then South Africa has never ceased to give trouble.

Even before the Transvaal disturbances were settled, Ireland was in a state of uproar which had not been paralleled since 1867. If the Home Rule members had been troublesome to the late Conservative Government, they continued to make themselves doubly objectionable to the Liberals. Mr. Gladstone was still under the impression, which he had imbibed in 1868, that Irish discontent could be healed by remedial measures. With this object he brought forward in 1880 a bill prohibiting landlords from evicting any tenants, however bad, without paying them "compensation for disturbance." This measure failed to pass the House of Lords, but in 1881 another "Land Bill" was successfully carried through, creating a Land Court, whose commissioners were empowered to fix all rents against which protest was made. It acted in the most stringent way, reducing rents from thirty to fifty per cent., but Ireland showed no signs of settling down. The peasantry had been persuaded by the Home Rulers that if they held together and kept up a lively agitation, the Liberal Government might be frightened into abolishing landlords altogether, compensating them from the public funds, and making over their estates to the tenantry. For this end the celebrated "Land League" was started, and soon spread over the whole country. Its leaders did not openly advocate outrages, but they were always full of excuse and pity for those who were detected in committing them. It was small wonder if agrarian crime suddenly developed to an extent which might have seemed incredible. Many districts of the south and west of Ireland were under a veritable reign of terror.

At last Mr. Forster, the courageous and well-meaning

statesman to whom the secretaryship for Ireland was entrusted, got leave to seize and imprison on suspicion Parnell and some forty other chiefs of the Land League. Outrages redoubled, and from his confinement in Kilmainham jail Parnell sanctioned the "No Rent Manifesto," an appeal to the whole tenantry of Ireland to refuse to pay a farthing to their landlords till the Government should be brought to its knees. It was largely acted upon in the southern and western parts of the island. Thereupon the cabinet declared the Land League "an illegal association," and suppressed it throughout the country. But the outrages only continued to grow worse: in the fourth quarter of 1881 they rose to the appalling figure of 732, of which eight were murders and thirty-four attempts at murder.

Broken down by the stress of the struggle, Gladstone resolved to take the astonishing step of releasing Parnell and the other suspects, if they would promise to aid him in quieting the country. This surrender took shape in the "Kilmainham treaty" of April, 1882, the prisoners covenanting that the No-Rent Manifesto should be withdrawn, and they would "make exertions which would be effective in stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds." Forster, the Irish secretary, and Lord Cowper, the viceroy, at once resigned, refusing to make bargains with sedition. To fill the former's place Lord Frederick Cavendish took office, but only six days afterwards he was assassinated in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park, along with his under-secretary, Mr. Burke, by some Dublin ruffians belonging to a society which called itself "the Invincibles" (May 6, 1882).

Public opinion in England was deeply stirred by this dreadful crime, which so entirely justified Forster's refusal to sanction a policy of weakness. The Gladstone Government had to take up once more a policy of coercion, and to acknowledge that "the late arrangements must be reconsidered and recast." So great was the feeling stirred up against the Home Rulers in general, that Parnell himself thought it necessary to characterize the murders "as

cowardly and unprovoked assassinations." But he none the less opposed by all the weapons of obstruction the new Coercion Bills brought in by Sir William Harcourt, predicting that they would lead to even worse troubles than those of 1881. In this he was wrong; the "Crimes Act," vigorously administered by the new viceroy, Lord Spencer, had a considerable effect in keeping down outrages. The Dublin murderers were detected and hung, to the great content of the nation, and several dastardly attempts to use dynamite for explosions in England and Scotland failed to frighten the Government, or to produce anything more than a redoubled determination that sedition and crime must be put down. Rampant obstruction was still kept up by the Home Rulers in parliament, and outrages continued to occur in Ireland; but by 1884 other questions had arisen to distract the attention of Great Britain from the sister island.

The main question of foreign policy in the years of the war with the Land League was connected with Egypt. Since Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares we had kept our hand upon that country, sharing with France a sort of unauthorized control, which in 1879 was made more formal. In that year the extravagant and reckless Khedive Ismail was compelled to abdicate, and his son Tewfik was placed in power, but compelled to accept an English and a French minister, who were to be irremovable, and to take charge of the whole financial arrangements of the country. The young Khedive did not struggle against the "Dual Control," but it roused deep discontent among the native officials and ministers, who had previously fleeced the country at their own sweet will. An ambitious colonel named Arabi Pasha put himself at the head of a movement whose watchword was "Egypt for the Egyptians." Finding that the troops would follow him, he executed a *coup d'état*, seized the person of the Khedive, and drove away the foreign ministers (April, 1882).

It would have been natural for England and France to combine, in order to restore the Dual Control and put

down the dictator. But the French Government refused to lend any help for such a purpose, not dreaming apparently that England would go in single-handed. Mr. Gladstone seems at first to have been in some doubt as to the policy to pursue, but the Mediterranean squadron was ordered to Alexandria. While it lay there a great riot broke out in the city, directed against all Europeans, and many hundreds of Greeks, Italians, and Levantines, with a few British subjects, were massacred (June 11, 1882). This occurrence naturally led to hostilities: when Arabi refused to obey Admiral Seymour's demand that he should stop fortifying Alexandria, and dismantle its batteries, the fleet was directed to bombard the place (July 11). The forts were wrecked, the garrison driven out, and the English landed and took possession of the ruins of the place.

Thus began the Egyptian campaign, which Gladstone persistently refused to call a war, maintaining that it was only "a series of military operations," because we were attacking, not the Khedive, the rightful ruler, but only his rebellious subjects. The struggle was short, for Sir Garnet Wolseley, to whom it was entrusted, managed the business with the most admirable decision and promptitude. The Egyptians were expecting him to debouch from Alexandria, but when his troops began to arrive in force from England and India, he turned aside and seized the Suez Canal, which he made his base for a march across the desert on Cairo. Arabi hurriedly raised the lines of Tel-el-Kebir to protect the capital; but Wolseley came upon them by a rapid night march, stormed them at dawn, and completely scattered the Egyptian host (September 13). A day later his cavalry seized Cairo before the enemy could rally, and the rebellion collapsed. Arabi and his chief supporters were captured and exiled to Ceylon, and the Khedive was replaced on his throne. But an English army of occupation remained in Egypt, though Gladstone promised the French and the Sultan that they should be removed when order and good government were restored—a most unwise pledge.

Circumstances, however, were too strong for the Liberal cabinet, or the promise would probably have been fulfilled. But even before Arabi's rise, a rebellion had broken out in the Egyptian provinces in the Soudan. A fanatic from Dongola, named Mohammed Ahmed, had put himself at the head of the Arab tribes of the south, who were groaning under the bitter oppression of their Egyptian taskmasters. He proclaimed himself to be the *Mahdi*, the prophet whom all Mussulmans expected to appear just before the Last Judgment, and announced that he was the destined conqueror of the world. His first success caused the whole Soudan to rally round him, and his "dervishes" drove the Egyptian troops into their fortresses. To stay his progress, General Hicks was sent to Khartoum with a raw native force, hastily raised from the wreck of Arabi's army. But as he marched towards Kordofan Hicks was surrounded and cut to pieces with the whole of his host (October 3, 1883). Gladstone then determined to abandon the Soudan, believing that the dervishes were no oppressed population struggling for a not-undeserved freedom, and not seeing that they were desperate fanatics bent on the conquest of the whole world, and set on slaying every one who refused to acknowledge their Mahdi.

To withdraw the Egyptian troops from the Soudan, Charles Gordon, a brave and pious engineer officer, who had once governed the country in the days of the Khedive Ismail, was sent to Khartoum. On his arrival there he found that the rebellion had gone much further than he had expected, and that it was impossible to carry out the Government's plan without further military aid. He was driven into Khartoum and there besieged by the Mahdists in February, 1884. At the head of his dispirited and ill-disciplined Egyptian troops he made a gallant defence, but his repeated demands for British bayonets were regularly refused till it was too late. In the autumn Gladstone at last determined to send an expedition to the Soudan; but by this time Khartoum was at its last gasp. Wolseley, the victor of Tel-el-Kebir, forced his way up the Nile and

despatched a column across the desert to relieve the city. After a most perilous march the troops beat the dervishes at the desperate battle of Abu-Klea (January 22, 1885), and forced their way to within a hundred miles of Gordon's stronghold. But the time was past for succour. On January 26 the Mahdi stormed Khartoum, and massacred Gordon and the 11,000 men of his garrison. On receiving this disastrous news the expeditionary force retired on Egypt, abandoning the whole Soudan to the rebels, who slew off the greater part of the people, and turned the whole region into a desert.

Two half-hearted attempts were made, one before and one after the fall of Khartoum, to attack the insurgents from the side of the Red Sea. But the expeditionary forces which landed at Suakim, though they beat the dervishes at El-Teb and Tamai (1884), and Tofrek (1885), recoiled before the difficulties of the waterless desert which separates the coast plain from the Nile, and accomplished absolutely nothing.

The betrayal of Gordon—for so the tardy action of the Government was generally and not unnaturally styled—alienated from Gladstone many supporters whose faith had survived Majuba Hill and the Kilmainham Treaty. For the last year of its tenure of office the Liberal cabinet was profoundly unpopular. It had profited little from the one constructive measure of its later years, the Reform Bill of 1884. This was designed to level up the electoral body, by giving the franchise to the last considerable class who were still destitute of the vote—the agricultural labourers of the counties. The Conservatives refused to allow the bill to pass, stopping it in the House of Lords, till Gladstone consented to let redistribution accompany reform; *i.e.* to rearrange all the constituencies so as to make them fairly equal in size. This idea was very imperfectly carried out. The democratic ideal of “one man one vote” was now practically attained, but not that of “one vote one value,” for a few hundred inhabitants of a decaying Irish town, or a depopulated Irish county, still return the same

number of members as enormous London constituencies, such as Chelsea or East Ham. Gladstone justified the anomaly by the theory that the further a district was from the capital the more did it require representation—a doctrine not likely to be popular with Londoners. The main result of the bill was that the smaller boroughs which had escaped disfranchisement in 1832, now became absorbed in the surrounding country districts. The seats gained from them mostly went to new constituencies in the north of England.

In June, 1885, the Government was defeated, by a chance combination of Conservatives and Home Rulers, on an unimportant detail of the budget. Gladstone thereupon resigned, and Lord Salisbury, head of the Conservative party since Lord Beaconsfield's death in 1881, took office. As the Liberals were still in a considerable majority, this arrangement was evidently a mere stop-gap. At the end of the session, Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament, and the first general election after the Reform Bill of 1884 occurred. What attitude the new constituencies would adopt was quite uncertain. Gladstone, in a series of long and vigorous speeches in his constituency of Midlothian, asked for a majority large enough to enable him to keep down both Tories and Home Rulers in case they should combine. But this was denied him: though the Liberals swept away nearly all the county seats in the east and centre of England, where the newly enfranchised labourers all voted for their benefactor, yet they suffered a number of disastrous defeats in the towns, where public opinion was greatly excited against their weak and unlucky foreign policy. When the House met, the Liberals had just such a majority over the Conservatives (330 to 251) as allowed the eighty-six Home Rulers under Parnell to keep the balance of power in their hands. The Irish chief had been sounding the heads of both parties for some time, and thought that Gladstone was likely to prove more squeezable than Lord Salisbury, though several Conservative leaders—especially Lord Carnarvon—seem to have

given more attention to his overtures in 1885 than was consistent with the true policy of their party. In January, 1886, Parnell assisted the Liberals to evict Lord Salisbury from office, and Gladstone for the third time became prime minister. Even before he took office it began to be noised abroad that he was in secret negotiation with the Irish, and ready to buy their allegiance by the grant of a measure of Home Rule. Here begins a new chapter of our domestic history; that one of the two parties should make a permanent alliance with the Obstructionists had never been deemed possible before 1885.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOME RULE QUESTION AND IMPERIALISM

[1886-1899]

SINCE the days immediately preceding the Reform Bill of 1832, the United Kingdom had never been in such a state of excitement as prevailed from November, 1885, to July, 1886. It was in the former month that rumors began to get abroad that the "liberal measure of local self-government," which Gladstone had spoken of in his Midlothian speeches as desirable for Ireland, meant Home Rule. At midwinter it was stated that he had invited Parnell to confer with him on the scheme, and to suggest guarantees for the preservation of law and peace in Ireland when Home Rule should have been conceded. Nevertheless, many Liberals refused to believe that there was any truth in the reports, and several of their party leaders announced that they still remained opposed to any grant of legislative independence to Ireland.

But when the Tories had been evicted from office in January, 1886, and Gladstone came into power, his proceedings showed that rumor had not lied. It soon became known that the premier was drafting a Home Rule Bill, and that violent dissensions were on foot in the cabinet, since several members of it were not prepared to follow him in his new departure. In March, the president of the Local Government Board, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the best-known leader of the Radical wing of the party, resigned his office, as did Mr. George Trevelyan, the secretary for Scotland. But the bulk of the Liberal party were still in the dark as to the exact form which the projected bill would take, and it was quite uncertain whether the ma-

jority were prepared to follow the premier. All that was known was that there were bound to be some secessions when Gladstone's plan was set forth. Meanwhile, the Conservatives were commencing a vigorous agitation against any concession to Parnell, and the Irish Protestants of Ulster were fiercely proclaiming that they would resist, even with armed force, any attempt to place them in subjection to the Home Rule majority in the south and west.

On the 8th of April, the bill was at last introduced and explained by the premier, in a speech occupying nearly four hours. It was proposed to establish an Irish parliament in Dublin, consisting of 309 members sitting in a single chamber; by a device strange to British ideas, these members were to be of two classes, 206 representing the boroughs and counties, while the remainder were to be peers or senators of an anomalous sort, chosen for long periods, and not liable to lose their seats at a dissolution. The Imperial Government was to retain control over the army, matters of external trade, the customs and excise, and foreign policy. The rest of the affairs of Ireland were to be entrusted to the Dublin parliament, which would have in its power the police, the maintenance of law and justice, all matters of internal taxation, education, and all the executive and administrative parts of the governance of the realm. By an elaborate financial scheme, Gladstone calculated that Ireland should pay £3,244,000 a year to the Imperial exchequer as her contribution to the management of the British empire; she would have, he thought, about £7,000,000 more for her own local purposes. No Irish members were for the future to come to Westminster, so that the Crown was to be the only formal link between the two kingdoms.

The heated debates which followed lasted from the 8th of April to the 7th of June. Parnell expressed his satisfaction with the bill, though he claimed that financially it was a hard bargain for Ireland. It remained to be seen whether the defection from the Liberal ranks would be large enough to compensate for the eighty-six well-dis-

ciplined followers whom he was about to lead into the ministerial lobby. Gradually, however, it began to be clear that the split in the Liberal ranks was much deeper than Gladstone had hoped. Lord Hartington and most of the Whig section of the party were known to be alienated, and it was also found that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bright were about to be followed into opposition by a considerable number of the Radicals. Member after member arose on the Liberal side of the House to complain that the guarantees given for the loyalty of Ireland were too weak; or that no protection was afforded for the minority in Ulster who disliked Home Rule; or that the proposed financial arrangements were unworkable; or that the removal of the Irish members from Westminster broke up all connection between the kingdom; or, more simply, that persons with the antecedents of Parnell and his followers could not be trusted with power. When the crucial division on the second reading of the bill was taken, on June 19, no less than ninety-three Liberals voted against the Government, and the measure was thrown out by a majority of thirty (341 to 311). Mr. Gladstone at once dissolved parliament, though it was not seven months old, and appealed to the country to endorse his new policy (June 25).

The general election of July, 1886, was by far the most bitterly fought contest of the recent half-century. Disruption of old party ties amongst the Liberals lent it a particularly personal animosity, since every "Unionist" of the last parliament found his seat attacked by a "Gladstonian." The latter charged their former friends with disloyalty and desertion; the former replied by taunting the majority with blind subservience to Gladstone, and with making terms with the friends of traitors and assassins. The stake at hazard was by far the greatest of the century; the Unionists believed that their defeat would mean civil war in six months, and the possible disruption of the empire. Gladstone, on the other hand, held out the prospect of a pacified and friendly Ireland—a thing of which no man

had ever ventured to dream—and warned his opponents that even if they won they had nothing to offer but a policy of interminable and hopeless coercion for the sister island. Passions on both sides ran higher than at any other crisis that men could remember, yet it was satisfactory to find that the election itself was carried out without any of the rioting or the corruption that used to be so common in the days before the Ballot Act.

The result was decisive; the majority of the Liberal Unionists kept their seats—seventy-eight of them appeared in the new parliament. On the other hand, the Gladstonians had lost some forty or fifty seats, and retained no more than 191. The Conservatives were 316 strong, and the Parnellites 85. When Lord Hartington, as head of the Liberal Unionists, explained that he and his friends would not amalgamate with the Conservatives, nor take office, but would never join in any combination with the Gladstonians so as to imperil the position of the incoming ministry, it became clear that a long spell of exile from office awaited the friends of Home Rule. For most intents and purposes the Conservatives might count on a majority of a hundred.

When Lord Salisbury took office for the second time, in August, 1886, with such a powerful alliance at his back, domestic politics began to quiet down with a surprising quickness. The tendency was most marked in Ireland, where many expected that the rejection of the Home Rule Bill would be followed by riots and outrages worse than those of 1882-83. The reverse was the case; a distinct amelioration was visible after the fall of the Gladstone ministry, and a prolonged attempt made by some of the Parnellite leaders to raise agrarian trouble by a scheme called “the Plan of the Campaign” was a failure. Their idea was to repeat in a minor form the “No Rent” edict of 1882, binding the tenantry in certain estates to cling together and refuse to pay more rent than they thought fit. But Mr. Arthur Balfour, the new secretary for Ireland, proved by far the most successful administrator that had been seen

across St. George's Channel for a generation. Indeed, he was the only statesman of modern days who has gained rather than lost credit while holding the unenviable post which was now allotted to him. The wild abuse of the Parnellite members in the Commons did not seem to worry him, and he showed an imperturbable indifference to all their accusations and raillery. The Government aided him by passing a Coercion Bill of a very stringent kind (July, 1887), which, on the whole, served the end for which it was designed, since, in spite of certain riots ending in bloodshed—such as the "Mitchelstown massacre" of October 12—Ireland was growing less disturbed all through 1887-88. The systematic obstruction which the Parnellites, aided by many Gladstonians, offered to this bill, only led to the passing of new and much-needed reforms of procedure in the House of Commons, which made the useless wasting of time more difficult. An Irish Land Bill which accompanied the Coercion Act was less successful, pleasing neither tenants nor landlords, and soon being forgotten.

The year 1887 is best remembered, however, for no matter of party politics, but for the Queen's First Jubilee (June 21), a great ceremony held to commemorate Her Majesty's completion of the fiftieth year of her reign. A solemn service held at Westminster Abbey was attended by all the Royal family, and witnessed by an assembly gathered not only from the United Kingdom, but from India and all the colonies. Lord Beaconsfield's "Imperialism" still dominated his party, and everything was done to make the Jubilee a manifestation of the loyalty of the whole empire. In this aspect it was most successful; not only did the premiers of the autonomous colonies and a party of Indian rajahs join in the ceremony in London, but rejoicings and demonstrations all round the world bore witness to the respect and love entertained for the aged sovereign in every corner of her dominions. Both at home and abroad the political effects of the Jubilee were admirable. They may be taken to mark the complete pre-

dominance of the Imperial idea first brought into prominence by Disraeli half a generation before.

It was in truth the interests of Greater Britain—a name just beginning to come into vogue—rather than purely foreign affairs, which formed the most important parts of our external politics from this time onward. Whether under Liberal or Conservative ministers, England has steadfastly refused to entangle herself in alliance with any of the Continental powers.

In the seventies, while Bismarck was the dominant statesman in Europe, Germany, Austria, and Russia formed an alliance, the "League of the Three Emperors," which was the governing factor in European politics. It might have seemed natural for us to look for friends in France and Italy, and for some time we were on excellent terms with both these powers. But things changed after the Egyptian war of 1882; our occupation of Egypt was a bitter blow to France, all the more so because it was entirely her own fault that she did not become our partner. Having refused to aid us in crushing Arabi, she was never again able to get her foot into the Nile valley, and has always cherished a rather unreasonable grudge against the power which finished the business without her. The facts that we have never formally proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt, and that Mr. Gladstone made his unfortunate engagement to evacuate the country "when circumstances permitted," have furnished a dozen French foreign ministers with opportunities for harassing English cabinets with inquiries as to the date of our departure, and the reasons for our delay. All reforms which we made in Egypt, even the most simple and necessary, formed the subject of angry diplomatic notes. The anomalous position occupied by a state which exercises the reality of suzerainty without its legal form, rendered such criticism only too easy.

As long as France stood alone in Europe, and the League of the Three Emperors still existed, her intrigues against us in Egypt were tiresome rather than dangerous. Cir-

cumstances, however, gradually changed ; the Tzar Alexander II. had been assassinated by the Nihilists in 1881, and his son, Alexander III., was not a friend of Germany. Moreover, the old Emperor William I., who always preserved a kindly feeling for Russia, died in 1888, and with his decease the influence of Bismarck, all-powerful in Germany since 1866, and in Europe since 1870, began to wane. Even before his old master's death, the breach between the two empires had been clearly marked, and Bismarck had publicly announced that a continuance in his former policy was no longer possible. There followed a rearrangement of the relations of the great Continental powers, Germany and Austria avowing that they had concluded formal treaties with Italy, and taken her into partnership in a new "Triple Alliance." Russia and France, thus left in isolation, were forced by the logic of circumstances to look toward each other for support. Their drawing together only began to be evident about 1891-92 ; down to that date the Russian Government had doubted too much the solidity of the French republic, whose ministries were always changing, and whose very existence had seemed imperilled in 1887-88 by the intrigues of the theatrical adventurer, General Boulanger.

The position on the Continent was still further modified by the dismissal of Prince Bismarck from office by his active and imperious sovereign, the young emperor William II., who refused to be dominated by the great statesman as his grandfather had been (March, 1890). From that time onward the German monarch himself has taken the place as the mainspring of Continental politics which the great chancellor so long occupied. It was for some time feared that his ambition and energy would lead him into stirring up trouble all over Europe, but he has disappointed his enemies. Though his policy cannot always be praised, and his unending flow of speeches and telegrams is not always guided by discretion, he has practically displayed an ability and moderation for which he at first received no credit.

The attitude of the English cabinet, in face of the new alliances on the Continent, was bound to be reserved. Considering how we were embroiled with France in Egypt, and how suspicious we have always been of Russia in the East, it might seem obvious for England to draw near to the Triple Alliance, to whom our fleet would be invaluable in time of war. But any formal treaty with the three powers might possibly involve us in struggles in which we have no interest, and causes of friction with Germany were continually arising over colonial matters, owing to the perpetual annexation in remote corners of the earth to which both Bismarck and William II. were prone. Hence the foreign policy of the Salisbury ministry in 1886-92 (like that of their successors ever since) consisted in careful balancing and neutrality, with the final object of not offending both groups of Continental powers at once. If we were led into such a misfortune, it might end in their sinking their grudges and making common cause in order to plunder the British Empire—a possible though not a probable contingency.

Meanwhile, the internal policy of the Conservative ministry was conducted on much the same lines as that of the Beaconsfield ministry of 1874-80—the party had learnt its lesson, and strove to combine practical reforms and administrative efficiency at home with the safeguarding of the empire abroad. The first Chancellor of the Exchequer whom Lord Salisbury appointed, Lord Randolph Churchill, tried to raise a cry for economy, and actually resigned his office because he thought that the army and navy estimates were too high. But his declaration found no echo among the Conservative rank and file, and he discovered that he had committed political suicide by his hasty action. All through the years 1886-92 the cabinet continued to produce bills for domestic reforms of the practical kind, such as the Local Government Bill of 1888, creating the elective county councils which have worked so well ever since their creation; and the Free Education Act of 1891, which made the education in elementary schools

gratuitous, by stopping the demand for the "school pence" which parents had hitherto been obliged to pay. But the most successful measure carried during the whole tenure of office by Lord Salisbury was undoubtedly the conversion of the National Debt in 1888. Mr. Goschen, a Liberal Unionist who succeeded Lord Randolph Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer, devised a plan for offering all the holders of the "Three per Cents." the choice of being paid off at the full nominal value of their bonds, or of retaining them and receiving $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest instead of the former 3 down to 1903, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. after that date. Very few of the fundholders asked for their money back, and since 1889 the country has saved £1,400,000 a year by the transaction. So far is the value of the securities from being lowered by the diminished interest, that the $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cents. are now worth far more than the old "Consols," and generally stand at £110 and over for the nominal £100 stock.

The Irish question, in spite of the increasing quiet across St. George's Channel, was never long forgotten; and the two chief incidents by which it was kept before the public eye were very curious. The *Times* newspaper, publishing a series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime," ended them by printing a letter purporting to have been written by Parnell himself in extenuation of the Phœnix Park murders. He was made to say that policy compelled him to denounce them, but that "Burke got no more than his deserts." Parnell denied the authenticity of the letter, and in August, 1888, began an action for libel against the *Times*, putting his damages at £100,000. The Government resolved to appoint a special commission to inquire into all the charges brought by the *Times* against Parnell and his followers. The three judges who sat to try the matter (September, 1888—January, 1889), found that "the respondents did nothing to prevent crime, and expressed no *bonâ fide* disapproval of it; that they disseminated newspapers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of crimes; and that they entered into a conspiracy

to promote, by a system of coercion and intimidation, an agrarian agitation for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords." But they also found that the supposed letter of Parnell on the Phoenix Park outrage was a forgery, and acquitted him of the charge of insincerity in denouncing it. The document had been concocted and sold to the *Times* by Richard Pigott, the disreputable editor of a Home-Rule newspaper in Dublin, who finally confessed to the forgery, fled to Spain, and there committed suicide to escape arrest. For having been deceived by this villain, the *Times* had to pay £5000 to Parnell.

The Gladstonian party elected to consider the verdict of the special commission as amounting to a complete rehabilitation of Parnell, his followers, and his methods. On his return to the House of Commons he received an ovation from them, and was loaded with compliments and testimonials of confidence. But it was only for a year more that they were to have the benefit of his company and co-operation. In 1890, to the surprise of the whole political world, he appeared in the unenviable position of co-respondent in the Divorce Court. The petitioner was his friend and lieutenant, Captain O'Shea. Hardly any attempt was made by Parnell to defend the case, which presented many discreditable incidents. The verdict was accordingly given against him, but it seemed at first that it would not make much difference in his position, as his followers showed their usual wonderful discipline, and re-elected him their chief. But they had reckoned without Mr. Gladstone and the "Nonconformist conscience." Public opinion in England has got beyond the stage in which a notorious evil-liver can be accepted as leader of a great party, and the bulk of the Liberal masses, among whom the dissenting element was specially strong, were profoundly grieved and disgusted at the exposure. Gladstone, expressing their views, issued a manifesto to the effect that "the continuance of Mr. Parnell in his leadership would be productive of disastrous consequences." The threat that

English support would be entirely withdrawn from Home Rule so disturbed the Irish party, that a majority of them came to the conclusion that their chief must be dethroned. There was a bitter struggle among them, for some feared their autocrat, and others could not forget his past services. But the Catholic priesthood threw its powerful influence into the scale of morality, and a majority of the Irish members declared Parnell deposed, and elected in his place Mr. Justin McCarthy, an amiable literary man whose control over them was not likely to resemble the iron rule of Parnell.

The ex-leader, however, refused to take the verdict of the majority, and, with those of his followers who adhered to him, formed a new party, which appealed to the people of Ireland against "English dictation," as exercised by Mr. Gladstone. Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite candidates contested every vacant Irish seat, and Parnell himself scoured every county in the kingdom, denouncing the traitors and weaklings who had betrayed him. The discovery that his adherents were in a minority only spurred him on to fresh exertions, which his health could not stand. After some open-air meetings held in inclement autumn weather, he caught inflammation of the lungs, and died in a few days (October 6, 1891). Contrary to expectation, his party survived his death; the bitterness between the two sections of Irish members was too great to allow them to amalgamate, and the Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite factions are still with us.

Nine months after the death of Parnell, Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament, which had now reached its sixth year of life. The general election of July, 1892, resembled all its predecessors for the last quarter of the century, in that the outgoing ministry lost by it. It seems that there is always a considerable body of electors who are discontented with any existing Government, and vote for the opposition, whatever may be the politics of the "Ins" and the "Outs." This "swing of the pendulum" was clearly visible in 1892. Though it could not be alleged

that Lord Salisbury's cabinet had been conspicuously inefficient or unsuccessful in administering the empire, yet numerous constituencies with an old Liberal record, which had gone Unionist at the time of the first Home Rule Bill, now reverted to their former politics. In the new Parliament there appeared 269 Conservatives and 46 Liberal Unionists, against 274 Gladstonians and 81 Irish Home Rulers. The Parnellite faction seemed almost wiped out, and kept only nine seats. It was notable that England had a clear majority against Home Rule (273 to 197), while the Gladstonian majority of 40 in the whole United Kingdom consisted entirely of Irish members.

Gladstone, therefore, when he took office in August, 1892, was to a great extent in the hands of his allies from across St. George's Channel. He was compelled to make Home Rule the main plank of his platform, though many of his British followers had their minds set on other topics, such as the disestablishment of the Churches of Scotland and Wales, the abolition of the House of Lords, temperance legislation in the direction of "Local Option," anti-vaccination, universal suffrage, the payment of members of Parliament, and numberless other local or sectional ideals. A political opponent cruelly styled them "a fortuitous concourse of enthusiasts or faddists, grouped under a banner for which they felt a very secondary interest." But whatever were the thoughts of some of his followers, Mr. Gladstone himself was earnestly set on carrying his Home Rule Bill; to guide it through Parliament, he trusted, would be the last great work of his life. He was now eighty-three years of age, and personal infirmities were at last beginning to tell on his strong physique; if Ireland was once satisfied, he hoped to sing his *Nunc Dimittis*, and retire from the wearing duties of public life.

All through the autumn of 1892 the details of the forthcoming bill were carefully kept dark, but in February, 1893, it was launched on the waters of debate by the aged premier. The measure differed considerably from the project of 1886. It proposed to constitute an Irish parlia-

ment of two houses, not of one. The upper house was to consist of 48 members, chosen only by persons with a rateable holding of £20 or more. The lower house was to contain 103 members, representing the existing parliamentary constituencies of Ireland. Another crucial difference from the bill of 1886 was that Irish members to the number of 80 were to be left at Westminster and to vote on all Imperial matters, though not on purely English or Scottish concerns. A third was that Ireland was to pay, not a lump sum of £3,200,000, but a percentage or quota of between four and five per cent. of the whole revenues of the three kingdoms. But the main points of the first Home Rule Bill were kept: Ireland was to manage her own internal administration, police, laws, taxation, and education.

The bill was debated at enormous length; it took the whole time between February and September to carry it through the Commons, and this was only accomplished by stifling debate on many of its clauses by means of the "closure." But there was a certain unreality in the discussion, owing to the fact that every one knew that the real tug of war would come only when the bill had passed the Lower House and gone up to the Lords. The third reading passed (September 1, 1893) by 301 to 267. The Lords then took it in hand, and made short work of it; on September 8 it was rejected by a majority of about ten to one (419 to 41).

Two courses were now open to Gladstone. He might dissolve Parliament at once and ask for the country's verdict on the conduct of the Upper House. If a triumphant majority were again given in his favour, the Lords would probably bow before the storm and let the bill pass, as they had done with the Reform Bill of 1832. On the other hand, it was open to him to reject the idea of a dissolution, and to proceed to carry other Liberal measures such as his party might desire, undertaking to recur to Home Rule at the first favourable opportunity. From taking the first course he was probably deterred by the fact that no out-

burst of popular feeling followed the rejection of the bill; the news was received everywhere with apathy. There was every reason to fear that a general election might only lead to "the back swing of the pendulum," and a reversion towards Unionism.

Accordingly, Gladstone retained office, and announced that after a very short recess he should summon Parliament to meet again in November for active legislative work. But great difficulties met him: the Irish were discontented; the English Radicals were split up into cliques and coteries which pulled different ways; the party discipline was evidently deteriorating. All that was done in the way of important legislation was the passage of a Parish Councils Bill, which gave parishes the same power of electing boards to settle their local affairs which the last Conservative Government had given to the counties.

In March, 1894, the premier announced that he was compelled to lay down his office; the stress of work was too much for one whose eyesight and hearing were both beginning to fail. His last speech as prime minister had consisted of a diatribe upon the perversity of the House of Lords in setting itself against the House of Commons; and he more than hinted, that, if they continued to act as they had done on the Home Rule question, the nation must take in hand their reform or extinction. It was, therefore, curious that a member of the recalcitrant house should be chosen to fill Gladstone's vacant place. His successor was Lord Rosebery, his Foreign Secretary, an able man in early middle age, who had won considerable applause by his administration of our external affairs, but who could not be called a typical Radical or an enthusiastic Home Ruler. In many ways he was more like the Whig statesmen of the eighteenth century than the Liberal politicians of to-day, combining considerable literary talents and a wide knowledge of foreign affairs with a keen passion for the turf. He is the only British premier who has ever run winners of the Derby (1894 and 1895).

On Mr. Gladstone's retirement, it became at once evident

that his party depended more for its coherence and strength on his personal ascendancy and unrivalled knowledge of parliamentary tactics than any one had supposed. When the veteran chief was removed, and his eloquence and enthusiasm were no longer constraining his followers to obedience, they soon began to fall asunder. One of Lord Rosebery's first public utterances was a declaration that so long as England, "the predominant partner" in the United Kingdom, was clearly opposed to Home Rule, that question must be relegated to the future. He expressed a conviction that England might be converted, but the time of her conversion was not yet come. Such an announcement from a minister whose majority consisted entirely of Irish Home Rulers, was not likely to help him in keeping the party together. It was obnoxious alike to Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. On the other hand, many English Gladstonians disliked Lord Rosebery's foreign policy, which was practically a continuation of that of the late Conservative cabinet, and was decidedly Imperialistic in its tendencies. He was the first Liberal minister since Lord Palmerston who took a strong line with our neighbours, and refused to be bullied. Radicals, too, complained that the party of progress found an inappropriate head in a member of an effete and reactionary House of Lords. Some styled him an opportunist, and denied that he could be called Liberal at all.

With half his party discontented and the other half apathetic, it was not likely that Lord Rosebery would make much of a record in legislation. His ministry only lasted sixteen months (March, 1894-June, 1895). The cabinet introduced a good many bills; the most important were a Welsh Disestablishment Act, an Irish Land Act, and a Local Option Bill to please the temperance party. But it did not succeed in passing any one of them, the votaries of each measure hindering the progress of the others, because their own was not given priority. It was felt, however, that all the debates were somewhat hollow, for when such measures were sent up to the House of Lords, they would

certainly be rejected; yet the Government did not seem anxious to appeal to the country against the attitude of the Peers. Such an unsatisfactory state of affairs was bound to come to an end, and in June, 1895, Lord Rosebery took the opportunity of a chance division on a small military matter, which had gone against the ministry, to dissolve Parliament.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARMENIAN, VENEZUELAN, AND TRANSVAAL DIFFICULTIES.

THE gloomy forebodings of the ministerialists were more than fulfilled by the general election of July, 1895. It resulted in a complete defeat of the Gladstonians; they reappeared in the new house with only 177 supporters instead of 260, while the Conservatives numbered 340, and the Liberal Unionists 71. Even if the 70 Anti-Parnellite and 12 Parnellite Irish members were credited to the Radical party, they were still in a minority of more than 150. Lord Salisbury, therefore, resumed office with the largest majority at his back that has ever been enjoyed by an English premier during the past two generations. He strengthened his position by recruiting his ministry, not only from among Conservative leaders, but from the ranks of the Liberal Unionists. The latter no longer refused, as they had in 1886, to amalgamate with their allies; in addition to Mr. Goschen, who had been taken into the last Conservative ministry, both Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, representing respectively the Whig and the Radical wings of their party, received cabinet office, the one as President of the Council, the other as Secretary for the Colonies. Several minor posts went to their followers. Thus the administration must be styled Unionist rather than Conservative.

It held office for nearly four years, and appeared likely to see the century out. The main part of the annals of 1895-99 consists of a series of foreign complications, for none of which the Government can be held really responsible; they have several times assumed a most threatening

aspect, and it is only in the last few months that the clouds have begun to clear away. Most of the troubles arose from the inevitable responsibilities of empire; there is no quarter of the globe in which there may not appear at any moment serious problems for a British minister. When Lord Salisbury assumed office the chief areas of disturbance were in the Levant. The timid but fanatical Sultan Abdul-Hamid, enraged at a weak and futile Armenian rising in Asia, permitted, or more probably ordered, a series of horrible massacres of Armenians in districts far remote from any focus of insurrection. These atrocities, extending over the two years 1895-97, exceed in horror anything that happened in Bulgaria in 1877, but have passed unpunished. The Russian Government considered that it was not to its interest to interfere, as it had no wish to encourage the Armenian nationality. The German emperor, who is set on establishing a strong political and trade interest at Constantinople, was equally determined to keep matters quiet. England was the only power which really wished to take any steps towards bringing pressure on the Sultan, and failed to effect anything when it was obvious that she stood alone—France, Italy, and the United States confining themselves to platonic expressions of disgust at the atrocities. An attempt was made by some of the Radical party to throw odium on Lord Salisbury for his inability to chastise Turkey, but it was discouraged by their more responsible chiefs, who saw that the ministry could not act against the will of Russia and Germany without incurring grave risk of war.

The Armenian question was in full development when two other crises arose. The first was a dangerous quarrel with the United States. There was a dispute on foot in South America, as to the exact boundaries of the British colony of Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela; the territory in question was mainly pathless jungle, but it was believed to contain valuable gold-mines. On the pretext that any acquisition of territory in America by a European power was contrary to the "Monroe doctrine," the theory

which states that "America is for the Americans," President Cleveland sent a message to his Congress, laying down with unnecessary peremptoriness a claim to interfere in the matter. An outburst of anti-British feeling in the United States followed, and in the winter of 1895-96 affairs looked very threatening. Fortunately, the English Government kept cool, and American feeling soon calmed down, so that later in the year an amicable arbitration on the disputed boundary was arranged. It is pleasant in 1899 to see how entirely the relations between Great Britain and the United States have changed, and to recognize that the wise and conciliatory attitude of our cabinet has had its reward.

The Venezuelan question was at its height when trouble broke out in South Africa, caused by Dr. Jameson's mad and piratical raid into the Transvaal Republic (December 29-January 1, 1896), of which we shall have to speak at greater length when dealing with the colonies. The rage with which the German emperor's most gratuitous telegram to President Krüger about Jameson's surrender was received in England, contrasted strangely with the quiet way in which Mr. Cleveland's equally unwise utterances had been taken a few weeks earlier. Noting the trend of English public opinion, and finding himself unlikely to be supported by other powers, William II. successfully explained away his telegram, and the war scare passed over.

As if the Armenian, Venezuelan, and Transvaal difficulties were not enough for one year, we were on very bad terms with France in 1896 over the interminable Egyptian question. The re-conquest of the Soudan from the Khalifa, the successor of the late Mahdi, having been determined upon, the French Government intrigued to frustrate it, by preventing the Egyptian Government from finding money. They were so far successful that Great Britain had to advance £500,000 herself, to provide for the projected expedition. In West Africa, too, there was continually friction with French expeditions, which were pouring into the Niger valley, and cutting off our old-



DR. JAMESON'S RAID INTO THE TRANSVAAL

established colonies from their trading communications with the interior. The same was the case in the far East, where the French Government had been encroaching on Siam, and was trying to absorb the whole country; but finally it came to a compromise with Great Britain, by which both powers agreed to leave alone what remained of that kingdom.

The year 1897 opened not quite so unprosperously as 1896, but there was still trouble in the air. The Armenian question was not exhausted when an insurrection broke out in Crete, to which the Greek Government lent open support. Miscalculating the strength of the Turkish empire, or hoping that a vigorous stroke might set all Eastern Europe in a flame, the Greeks finally declared war on the Sultan, and tried to invade Macedonia. But the powers refused to move; it was generally thought that Greece had no right to open the Eastern question in such a violent manner, and she received no aid. Her raw army was overwhelmed by the numbers of the Turks, and fled in panic (April, 1897), so that the king had to sue for peace in the most humiliating fashion. The powers insisted that the terms should not be too hard, for no one wished to encourage the Sultan, and Greece was let off with the cession of a few mountain passes and a fine of four million Turkish pounds.

This Eastern crisis having passed over without any further development, the inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the whole British Empire were able to celebrate, undisturbed by any grave trouble from without, the Queen's "Diamond Jubilee" on the 20th of June, 1897. Having completed the sixtieth year of her reign, the aged sovereign had now worn the English crown for a longer period than any of her ancestors—her grandfather, George III., who died in the fifty-ninth year after his accession, is the only British monarch who approaches her length of rule. As the years roll on, her subjects have realized more and more their obligations to one who has been the model of constitutional sovereigns, and has set so high the

standard of public as well as of domestic duty. The pageant of her state visit to St. Paul's was notable, even more than that of 1887, as showing the unanimity and loyalty of her colonies and possessions; representatives from every spot where the British flag waves being given their place in the procession. Two whole generations of her subjects have now grown up to manhood since Victoria's accession, and it is almost impossible for them to realize England without her. Comparing 1837 with 1899, we see what great things have been done in her name, and trust that our descendants may look upon the "Victorian age" as not the least glorious period in our country's annals.

Many may have hoped, after the Jubilee, that the short remainder of the century might pass by without our being troubled with any more wars or rumours of wars. But the year 1898 was destined to see us nearer to an open breach with a first-rate European power than we have been since the end of the struggle in the Crimea. We have already had occasion to allude more than once to the restless activity of France in thrusting her way into the neighbourhood of our possessions, both in Africa and in the East. Early in 1898 grave trouble was caused by her enormous annexations in the valley of the Niger and the Congo, where for the last fifteen years she has been building up an empire which exists more on paper than in reality, a dozen forts and a few movable columns of black troops being supposed to Gallicize a region half the size of Europe, most of whose inhabitants have never seen a Frenchman. After pushing in behind our colonies of the Gambia and the Gold Coast, and cutting them off from inland expansion, the French, in 1896-97, made an attempt to seize the Lower Niger, in spite of a treaty dating back to 1890 which defined our interests in that quarter. It was only after considerable friction that an agreement was made in June, 1898, by which the tricolour was hauled down from some of their most advanced stations, pushed well within the British sphere of influence: much was

given to them that might have been rightfully withheld. But this dispute was a mere nothing to that which occupied the later months of the year.

The Soudan expedition, which had started in 1896 to destroy the power of the Khalifa and reconquer the valley of the Middle Nile, had met with uniform success from its first start. Under the able guidance of Sir Herbert Kitchener, the commander of the Egyptian army, it had cleared the dervishes out of the province of Dongola in 1896, after the battle of Ferket. In the next year the invaders had pushed on to the line of Abu-Hamed and Berber, driving the enemy before them. In 1898 the Khalifa was to be attacked in the heart of his empire: a considerable body of British troops was sent up to join the Egyptians, and in April the advanced guard of the Arab host was destroyed at the battle of the Atbara. In August Kitchener marched on Omdurman, the enemy's capital, and was met outside its walls by the Khalifa at the head of the full force of his barbarous realm, at least 50,000 fighting men. In one long day's fighting these fanatical hordes were scattered and half-exterminated; it is calculated that 11,000 were slain and 16,000 wounded before their fierce charge was turned back (September 1). Omdurman and Khartoum were occupied, and the Khalifa fled into the desert.

A few days later an unpleasant surprise was reserved for Kitchener and the British Government. An insignificant French force, under Major Marchand, about one hundred men with five officers, had pushed across Central Africa from the Congo, and seized Fashoda, a point on the Nile far above Khartoum. By means of this futile occupation the French Government had apparently hoped to establish a claim to a portion of the Nile valley. Long ago, in Lord Rosebery's time, they had been warned that any such proceedings would be treated as an "unfriendly act," but they had nevertheless gone on. Lord Salisbury now informed the French foreign minister that Major Marchand must be withdrawn, and that the gravest conse-

quences would follow if he were not. We were, in fact, on the brink of a war with France, for her intolerable "policy of pin-pricks," pursued for the last ten years, had rendered any further yielding impossible. Fortunately, the French Government faltered and made submission: it was not ready to fight when its internal politics were confused by the wretched Dreyfus case, and when its ally, the Tzar, refused any prospect of help. Marchand was withdrawn, and a treaty was signed (March, 1899), conceding that the whole Nile basin falls within the English sphere of influence. This was certainly the greatest triumph for English diplomacy since the Berlin treaty of 1878.

The African question seems settled, but ere the century is out there may be grave trouble in another region, the extreme East. Since the war of 1895 between China and Japan, the Chinese empire seems to be falling to pieces. Our own wish has always been to preserve, if possible, its integrity, to favour the progress of reforms, and meanwhile to maintain the "open door" for all foreign commerce in all its ports. This policy is crossed by that of Russia, Germany, and France, all strongly protectionist powers, who wish to establish spheres of influence in China, and to monopolize the trade of them for themselves. Russia has lately obtained possession, euphemistically called a "lease," of the northern harbours of Ta-lien-Wan and Port Arthur, while Germany has seized Kiau-Chau and the surrounding territory on similar terms. To balance this we have ourselves taken over Wei-Hai-Wei, which faces Port Arthur across the great northern Gulf of Pechili. We have also extorted from the Chinese Government a promise not to alienate any of Central China, the basin of the Yang-tse-Kiang river. To what further developments these "leases" and agreements may lead, it is impossible to say, but it is evident that the gravest dangers of friction between the great powers underlie them.

While our foreign relations in every part of the world have been so strained during the last few years, it is natural that domestic matters should be less interesting. The Gov-

ernment has carried out a certain amount of small social reforms, and one or two measures of somewhat greater importance. The wisdom of some of them is not quite clear. The relaxation of the vaccination laws seems a mere piece of pandering to popular sentiment; and the Irish Local Government Act of 1898 is an experiment whose dangers are obvious, and which can only be justified by success. Now that the horizon abroad is clearer, it may be hoped that the old policy of unpretentious domestic reform, which Lord Beaconsfield first bound up with the Conservative programme, may be persevered in by his successors. Few governments certainly have had such chances as the current administration; their adversaries are not only weak, but torn by their internal discords. Mr. Gladstone died on May 19, 1898, after three years of retirement from politics, at the great age of eighty-eight. His name and influence had done much to keep his party together, even after he had withdrawn from active life. Since his death they have been more divided than ever, and seem unable to formulate any accepted political programme. The Anti-Parnellite party has resolved itself into two hostile factions, which only unite to repudiate the Parnellites. The Radical party has changed its leader twice in three years, and seems rent by intrigues resting on purely personal quarrels. "Home Rule," we have been told on good Radical authority, "is dead," yet it is difficult to see under what other banner the heterogeneous elements of the opposition are to unite. Nevertheless, it is impossible to forget that the "swing of the pendulum" has regularly ruled the general elections of the last thirty years; it will be curious to see if it shows itself once more in that of 1901.

Meanwhile, the century draws towards its close, with domestic politics in a far more stagnant condition than at any other date since the days of Palmerston. Foreign affairs, after the termination of the Fashoda incident, seem almost equally quiet, and the observer can pause for a moment on the edge of the twentieth century to look back on the later years of the nineteenth.

As we had occasion to remark in the chapter which dealt with early-Victorian England, the years since 1850 have not been fraught with such sweeping changes as those of the previous half-century. For the most part they have been spent in the working out of problems which had already been formulated in the previous generation. In things material this has notably been the case. We are still engaged in perfecting the inventions of our grandfathers, in developing already discovered realms of fact or thought rather than in winning new ones. This is as true in science as in literature, in politics as in art. The great new departures belong to the first half of the century; the second does but carry them on. In some channels of activity the current seems to be running very slowly in 1899, and in none more so than in literature. The list of great writers now at work compares miserably with that of 1875, and still worse with that of 1850. Few men of the younger generation have arisen to replace the lost masters of the early-Victorian age.

In some respects, it cannot be denied, the later years of the century have been a time of disillusion and disappointment. Many of the ideas that inspired enthusiasm forty years ago have been tried in the balance and found wanting. The state of foreign politics seems heartrending to those who remember the dreams of peace, liberty, and international good-will which sanguine prophets held out as the inevitable result that would follow from the unification of Germany and Italy, and the establishment of a parliamentary republic in France. Equally broken is the ideal of the elder exponents of free trade, who believed that a sort of industrial Millennium was to set in, when England frankly abandoned protection and opened her markets to all the producers of the world. The promises of 1850 have never appeared further from fulfilment than in 1899. The same kind of pity for lost hopes comes over us when we read the writings of well-meaning persons of the last generation, who were imbued with such a blind faith in scientific discovery that they made out of it a kind of

“gospel of science,” which was to settle all mental and moral problems. We no longer imagine that new facts in chemistry or physiology will help much to reform the evil ways of the world. The idea that material progress must necessarily lead to moral progress has gone out of fashion.

But if we face the coming years with less enthusiasm and confidence than some of our fathers felt, it cannot be said that we look forward on the twentieth century with fear or discouragement. Not in blind pride and reckless self-assertion, but with a reverent trust that the guidance which has not failed us in the past may still lead us forward, strong in the belief in our future that grows from a study of our past, we go forth to the toils and problems of another age.—C. W. O.

BOOK XIV.
**THE OPENING OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY.**

CHAPTER XIV.

THE VICTORIAN ERA—THE LONGEST REIGN IN ENGLISH HISTORY

THE genius of our people leads them to take but little stock, abstractly, in the English monarchy and its responsible Cabinet ministers, though historically we are interested in the rule of kings, queens, and other heads of nations, and in the rise, progress or fall of dynasties. The great schism of a hundred and thirty odd years ago severed the practical interest of the American people in, at least, the institution of monarchy. And yet towards recent and present-day heads of the English nation, which is to-day admittedly one of the greatest and most beneficent in the world, and especially towards her who for nearly two generations was sovereign, we have feelings of the most kindly interest, not unmingled with respect and even admiration. In 1901, Her Majesty Queen Victoria was summoned by death's inexorable summons to close, in her sixty-fourth year, her illustrious reign—a reign that surpassed in length that of any former occupant of the English throne. In that fact we, in common with other English-speaking people, certainly feel more than an historic interest, and, naturally so, since no such spectacle has history seen of the rule of a queen in whom we have centred, to so great an extent, the loyalty and devotion of a people throughout a long and illustrious reign. Nor, in Queen Victoria's case, was there merely reverence for the dignity of the Crown; there was affection for the person of the sovereign, and profound respect for her unblemished character and many and conspicuous virtues. Exalted as

was her position and magnificent the area and wealth of the imperial sway, her personal character and womanly virtues were her chief glory.

Since the accession, in 1837, of Queen Victoria—a simple girl of eighteen—the world has taken many strides, and great have been the political and social transformations within and without the Kingdom. If we except the familiar instance of Queen Elizabeth, no sovereign ever came to the throne of England at a more auspicious era, or one more pregnant of fateful but benign issues. Almost without parallel, in limitless fields of advancement, have since been the annals of the nation. We who are full of the ideas of the age in our Western world can hardly realize how great has been the change, and how colossal have been the strides of progress. It is not only that the area of British dominion has vastly increased (in the past twelve years, Lord Rosebery stated in 1896, the additions to the area of the empire have been two and a half million square miles), but vastly increased also are the aggregate wealth and material comfort of the people. Enormous as have been the gains territorial, the gains have been paralleled in every feature of the intellectual and economic resources of the empire. Some of the lines of progress may be traced in the advance of population, in the increase and distribution of capital, in the command of markets and in the ramifications of trade, in the extent of the railway, shipping, and industrial interests, in the thousand and one fields of individual activity and enterprise, as well as in the higher domains of thought, which have won for the nation intellectual supremacy and given to English civilization its dignity and influence.

But the force of contrast between then and now cannot be effectively brought home to the mind by general statements. Recourse must be had to the agency of figures. Sixty years ago, before emigration had made any great drain on the population of the United Kingdom, the figures representing the latter were under twenty-six millions. To-day (1909) the population of the British Isles

approaches forty-four and a half millions; while the total area of the empire is close upon 11,500,000 square miles, with an entire population close upon 410 millions. This is about 21 per cent., or more than one-fifth, of the earth's surface, and 22 per cent. of the inhabitants of the globe. The empire's total revenue, at the present time, exceeds 2,000 million dollars, with a total debt of 6,000 million dollars, and a total trade approximating in value to 6,400 millions. Railways to the extent of 90,000 miles have been opened, and 12,160,000 net tons of shipping sail under the British flag, while nearly 265,000,000 tons enter and clear annually at British ports. The population of the colonies of Britain to-day (including those in West, South, East and Central Africa, together with Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the West Indian and other islands) approaches 60 millions; while that of this country (the United States), to which Britain has made large contributions, has within the period cited quadrupled. Still more marvellous are the figures which mark British ascendancy in India. That empire and its dependencies and feudatory states at the present day has an area of one and a half million square miles, with an estimated gross population approaching 300 millions! Not less astonishing is the growth in wealth of the United Kingdom since the period of the late Queen Victoria's accession. Sixty or seventy years ago the people of the British Isles were not nearly so well fed, housed, clothed, or educated as they are to-day; while the *per capita* income was not more than half the sum it has now reached. The increased measure of prosperity may be gauged by the fact that within the period the number of depositors in the Savings banks has, despite trade strikes, business depression, and the prevalent intemperance among labouring classes, risen from under half a million to six millions; the deposits themselves have increased from fourteen to the large total to-day of over one hundred and fifty-seven million pounds sterling. Another unfailing mark of the prosperity of the people is their ability to bear, and generally to acquiesce in, the burden of taxation.

Not less remarkable is the growth of manufactures during recent reigns and the extension of Britain's internal and external trade. The difference between the trade of the "thirties" of the past century and the trade of the opening years of the twentieth century marks the difference, as it has been phrased, between the operations of a petty state and that of a mighty empire.

Nor has the progress of the last half-century been confined to material channels, as the present writer has elsewhere pointed out. Over countless rivers have the barques of the British mind been bearing ever-increasing treasure to the great sea of human knowledge. Not only literature, but science and art, have had their rich argosy. Historical research has also contributed its quota of heavily laden craft, weighty with the lore of the past and its store of useful information and instructive fact. Nor have books alone been the medium through which the activities of the British mind have found expression. From pulpit and forum and platform has the stream of knowledge poured, as well as through the myriad agencies of the press, in newspaper and magazine. The universities and schools, too, have taken their part in the work of national enlightenment. Nor must we fail to note the progress of the era in scientific and literary research, in religious and philosophic enquiry, and the gain to humanity in the great advance of medical science.

Another and a beneficent feature of the Victorian reign has been the illumination of the public conscience with regard to the material and moral well-being of the masses. This has been manifested in countless ways, though perhaps most effectively through the relief that has come from political and social reforms, from increased care for the health as well as for the rights of the people, and from the ameliorating enactments and beneficent provisions of philanthropy. The enactment of laws affecting the position of women, and the opening to them of varied and profitable fields of employment, must also be counted among the important acquisitions of the era.

To look back to-day upon Queen Victoria's accession is, politically speaking, however, to recall a troubled scene. Viewing it constitutionally is to see in it the beginnings of a new and auspicious era. But for a time dark were the clouds that hung over the kingdom. Many and menacing have been the problems which, during the reign, arose to distract the nation; but a wise statesmanship, happily, in some measure, was able to solve them. The solution, in the main, was found in the redressing work of legislation. Naturally its influence has affected even the morals of the people, while it has done much to ameliorate their social environment. Improvement in the material condition naturally led to improvement in the intellectual condition of the nation. Here philanthropy found new and beneficent fields of work in which it also had the helpful aid of legislation, so that the humanizing spirit has now largely permeated the whole social fabric. The Victorian reign was also remarkable for the furtherance of education among the people, for the interest taken in technical training and advancement in art, and through the great publishing enterprises, for the dissemination and popularizing of useful knowledge.

But we have dwelt on these interesting features of the Victorian reign long enough, though their consideration must be helpful to thoughtful minds in the New World, while they form an important part of the instructive history of the time.—G. M. A.

CHAPTER XV.

ENGLISH PRIME MINISTERS IN THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE 19TH AND THE OPENING YEARS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

WE here turn to another distinctive feature of recent British annals—the record of the administrations which held power successively from 1880 to the present day, beginning with Mr. Gladstone's second ministry following upon the close of the Disraeli (Beaconsfield) administration (1874-1880). In treating of the subject, we shall, to some extent, be beholden to the narrative of Dr. S. R. Gardiner, from whose English History we have already quoted in the earlier portions of the present book—a narrative that includes some record of the political events in the periods dealt with.

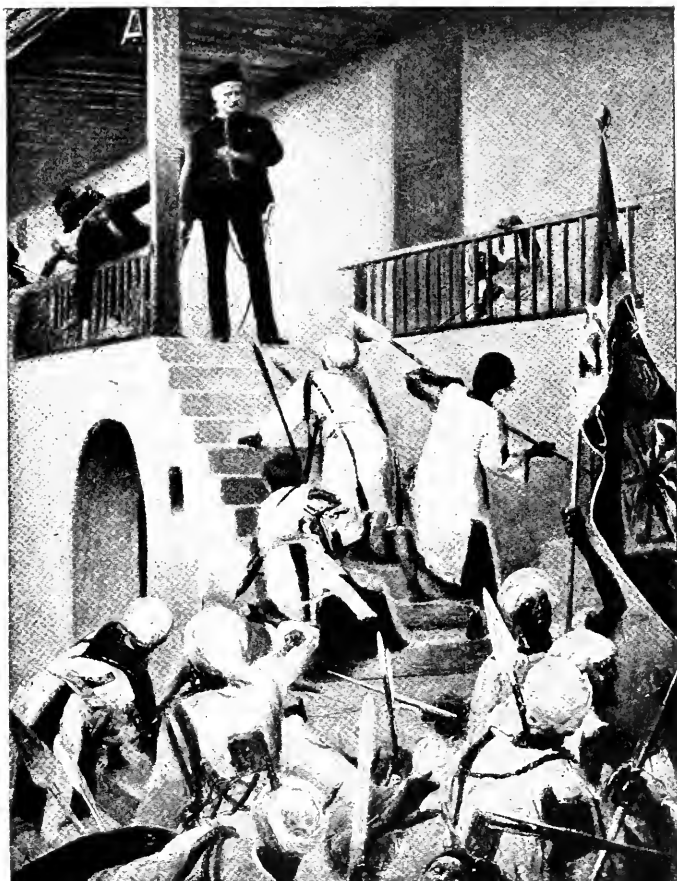
Gladstone formed a ministry which was soon confronted by difficulties in Ireland. There were troubles arising from the relations between landlord and tenant, and a Land League had been formed to support the tenants in their contentions with their landlords. There had also for some time been amongst the Irish members a parliamentary party which demanded Home Rule, or the concession of an Irish parliament for the management of Irish affairs. This party was led by Parnell. In 1880, the ministry, in which the leading authority on Irish questions was Forster, the Irish Secretary, brought in a Compensation for Disturbance Bill, giving an evicted tenant compensation for the loss falling on him by being thrust out of his holding. This Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. In 1881, the ministry carried another fresh Land Act, appointing a land court to fix rents which were not to be changed for fifteen years. At the same time it carried an Act for the protection of life and property, intended to

suppress the murders and outrages which were rife in Ireland, by authorising the imprisonment of suspected persons without legal trial. In 1881, Parnell and other leading Irishmen were arrested, but in 1882 the Government let them out of prison, with the intention of pursuing a more conciliatory course. On this Forster resigned. His successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered, together with the Irish Under-Secretary, Burke, in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a band of ruffians who called themselves Invincibles. An Act for the prevention of crimes was then passed. The Irish members of parliament continued bitterly hostile to the ministry. On the other hand, some at least of the members of the Government and of their supporters were becoming convinced that another method for the suppression of violence than compulsion must be employed, if Ireland was ever to be tranquil.

As had been the case with the last Government, foreign complications discredited the ministry. In 1880, the Dutch inhabitants of the Transvaal rose against the English government set up in their territory in 1877, and drove back with slaughter at Majuba Hill a British force sent against them. On this, the home government restored the independence of the republic, subject to its acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Great Britain. The greatest trouble, however, arose in Egypt. In 1882, an insurrection headed by Arabi Pacha with the object of getting rid of European influence, broke out against the Khedive, as the Pacha of Egypt had been called since his power had become hereditary. France, which had joined Great Britain in establishing the dual control, refused to act, and the British Government sent a fleet and army to overthrow Arabi. The forts of Alexandria were destroyed by the fleet, and a great part of the town burnt by the native populace. Sir Garnet Wolseley, at the head of a British army, defeated Arabi's troops at Tel-el-Kebir, and since that time the British Government has temporarily assumed the protectorate of Egypt, helping the Khedive to improve the condition of the Egyptian people. Farther south, in the Sou-

dan, a Mahommedan fanatic calling himself the Mahdi roused his Mahommedan followers against the tyranny of the Egyptian officials, and almost the whole country broke loose from Egyptian control. An Egyptian army under an Englishman, Hicks, was massacred, and a few posts, of which the principal was Khartoum, alone held out. An enthusiastic and heroic Englishman, General Gordon, who had at one time put down a widespread rebellion in China, and had at another time been governor of the Soudan, where he had been renowned for his justice and kindliness as well as for his vigour, offered to go out, in the hope of saving the people at Khartoum from being overwhelmed by the Mahdi. The Government sent him off, but refused to comply with his requests. In 1884, Gordon's position was so critical that Wolseley, now Lord Wolseley, was sent to relieve him. It was too late, for in January, 1885, before Wolseley could reach Khartoum, the town was betrayed into the hands of the Mahdi, and Gordon himself murdered. The vacillation of the Cabinet, probably resulting from differences of opinion inside it, alienated a large amount of public opinion. In Asia, Russia was pushing on in the direction of Afghanistan, and in 1885 seized a post called Penjdeh. For a time war with Russia seemed imminent, but eventually an arrangement was come to which left Penjdeh in Russian hands. At home, in 1884, by an agreement between Liberals and Conservatives, a third Reform Act was passed, conferring the franchise in the counties on the same conditions as those on which it had been conferred by the second Reform Act on the boroughs. The county constituencies and those in the large towns were split up into separate constituencies, each of them returning a single member, so that with a few exceptions no constituency now returns more than one. The ministry was by this time thoroughly unpopular, and in 1885 it was defeated and resigned, being followed by a Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury.

The Government formed by Lord Salisbury in June, 1885, lasted little more than seven months. It annexed



THE MURDER OF GENERAL GORDON BY THE MAHDI REBELS AFTER THEIR
CAPTURE OF KHARTUM

Upper Burma to the British dominions, and passed an Act to facilitate the purchase of Irish land by the tenants. The general election of the autumn gave the Liberals a majority over the Conservatives, but left the eighty-six Irish Nationalists the arbiters of the situation. When the Irish members discovered that the Government intended to bring in a new bill for the suppression of crime in Ireland, and that Mr. Gladstone was favourable to Home Rule, they threw their weight into the scale of the Opposition, and Lord Salisbury's Government fell. (January, 1886.)

Mr. Gladstone, on February 6, 1886, again formed a ministry, and at once introduced a bill for granting self-government to Ireland. By the "Home Rule" Bill Ireland was to have, under certain restrictions, a Parliament of its own and Irish members were no longer to sit in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. He put forward also a comprehensive scheme for buying out the Irish landlords and selling their lands to the tenants, which was to be carried out by the expenditure of fifty millions advanced by the Imperial exchequer. Both plans met with great opposition even amongst his own followers. Some thought that the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament was not sufficiently secured and that the unity of the empire would be endangered: others that the money borrowed to buy the land would not be repaid. Several members of the ministry resigned, and ninety-three Liberals voted against the second reading of the Home Rule Bill so that it was rejected by a majority of thirty. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country, but in the election which followed the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists, as the dissentient Liberals called themselves, obtained a majority of 118 over the Home Rulers. (July, 1886.)

Lord Salisbury's ministry, formed August 3, 1886, did not include any Liberal-Unionists, but they firmly supported it throughout its existence. The first difficulty the Government had to deal with was the condition of Ireland. Since the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act in 1881 the prices of all kinds of farm produce had fallen consider-

ably, so that farmers were often unable to pay the rents which had been fixed as fair. Some landlords made equitable remissions to their tenants; others ignored the fall in prices and refused to make any. In many places the tenants combined to resist eviction, adopting a scheme called the Plan of Campaign, by which they offered to pay their landlord what they themselves deemed a fair rent, and if he refused to accept it as sufficient applied the money to the relief of the tenants whom he evicted. The Government brought in a Crimes Act (1887) to put down illegal combinations among the tenants, suppressed the meetings of the National League, and imprisoned many Irish members of Parliament. It adopted also various remedial measures, such as admitting leaseholders, hitherto excluded, to the right of having their rents fixed by the land courts, and enabling tenants under certain conditions to obtain the revision of rents fixed before the fall in prices. Acts were also passed to facilitate the purchase of land by tenants, for the Irish policy of Lord Salisbury aimed rather at the increase of peasant proprietorship than the regulation of the system of dual ownership.

In Great Britain Lord Salisbury's ministry carried two excellent reforms. One completed the Elementary Education Act of 1870 by making education free in all elementary schools. (1891.) The other followed up the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, somewhat tardily it is true, by placing the government of the counties in the hands of councils elected by the ratepayers. At the same time, a similar "county council" was established for the government of all that large part of London outside the limits of the city proper. (1888.)

In 1892, a general election took place, and the Salisbury ministry, rendered unpopular by its coercive policy in Ireland, was defeated by an alliance between the Liberals and the Irish Nationalists. Mr. Gladstone became (August 18) Prime Minister for the fourth time, and introduced a second Home Rule bill. (1893.) Unlike the previous bill, it provided that the Irish members should retain their

seats in the Imperial Parliament; but though it passed the House of Commons the Lords threw it out by 419 to 41 votes. However, a bill for completing the fabric of local government in the counties by establishing elective councils to administer parish affairs became law in the same year. In March, 1894, Mr. Gladstone resigned office on account of age, and Lord Rosebery succeeded him as Prime Minister. The most important measure of his administration was a change in the system of taxation made by the Finance Act of 1894. By it the duties on property known as the death duties were revised and augmented, so that large properties paid in proportion more than small ones. Lord Rosebery's ministry fell in June, 1895, and Lord Salisbury became (July 2) for the third time Prime Minister.

The elections of 1895 gave Lord Salisbury a majority of 153 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined, and in the ministry which he formed, which lasted to midsummer, 1902, Liberal-Unionists were included. It was not, however, remarkable for its legislation. It passed another Irish Land Act (1896), and did something to develop local industries and agriculture in Ireland; but its most important measure was the establishment of county and district councils in that country like those which had been set up in England and Scotland. (1898.) The Irish were offered local self-government and material prosperity as a substitute for Home Rule.

Foreign and colonial affairs absorbed most of the ministry's attention. Once more the misgovernment of Turkey called for European intervention. A series of brutal massacres took place in Armenia; the Cretan Christians rose in revolt; the Greeks came to the aid of the Cretans as the Servians had come to the aid of the Bulgarians in 1876. The principle which dictated Lord Salisbury's Eastern policy was that the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey concerned Europe as a whole, and should be ameliorated by agreement between the six great powers, not by the isolated action of one or two of them. By that

method alone could the peace of Europe be preserved and the necessary reforms secured. The process, however, was slow, and agreement difficult to obtain. Owing to the differences of the great powers nothing was done to redress the wrongs of the Armenians, but Greece was protected from the consequences of its defeat by Turkey, and the Cretans obtained self-government. Though Crete still remained nominally subject to Turkey it became practically independent, with the second son of the King of Greece as its ruler. (1898.)

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BALFOUR MINISTRY

(1902-05.)

ON the retirement, in July, 1902, of his uncle, Lord Salisbury, the statesman, Arthur James Balfour (born 1848), became Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal, with the office of First Lord of the Treasury. In the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour had, previous to becoming Prime Minister, many years of active political work, besides serving his uncle as private secretary. From 1874 to 1885 he represented Hertford, and after the year 1886 he sat in the Commons for Manchester, in the Conservative interest. Though deemed somewhat of a dilettante, with strong literary tastes and much ability as a writer, he was effective as a politician and popular in the country. The literary world knew him as an original, though somewhat sceptical, writer—his chief works being, besides a volume of "Essays and Addresses," "The Foundations of Belief" and "A Defense of Philosophic Doubt." Under his uncle, Mr. Balfour was for a number of years Government leader in the Commons, a hot opponent of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill, Chief Secretary for Ireland, First Lord of the Treasury, and in 1878 he was present at the Berlin Congress as private secretary to Lord Salisbury. When he attained to the premiership, he much interested himself in educational legislation, and was actively at the head of England's foreign affairs. Nevertheless, he found time to pursue literary work, and in 1894 he presided at the meeting at Cambridge of the British Science Association for the year, and on the occasion delivered an able address

entitled, "Reflections Suggested by the New Theory of Matter." In 1905, his administration was repeatedly attacked, and he suffered from frequent and biting criticism, even in the ranks of his own party, on his general policy. Finally, the liberalism of the country became so aggressive that Mr. Balfour thought it well to resign the premiership, which he did December 4, 1905, when he was succeeded by the Liberal leader of the then opposition in the Commons, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S MINISTRY (1905-08).

The new Liberal Cabinet had as its chief personnel such able members as the Hon. (now Viscount) John Morley, Secretary for India; H. H. Asquith (the present-day Premier), Chancellor of the Exchequer; James Bryce, Chief Secretary for Ireland; H. J. Gladstone, Home Secretary; Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary; the Earl of Elgin, Secretary for the Colonies; Lord Loreburn (better known as Sir Robert Reid), Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Aberdeen, Viceroy of Ireland. Sir Henry (who was born in 1836) long represented the Scottish burgh of Stirling, and at successive periods held various posts in Liberal administrations, besides acting as Liberal leader in the Commons, as successor to Sir William Harcourt, between the years 1899 and 1905. His offices at successive periods include Financial Secretary to the War Office, Secretary to the Admiralty, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Secretary of State for War. In 1897, he was a member of the Jameson Raid Committee, and his repugnance to the Transvaal War, it is known, incited the formation in England of the Liberal Imperial League, an organization which came into existence as the outcome of Lord Rosebery's speech at Chesterfield (December, 1901) advocating the abandonment of Irish Home Rule. In 1908, Sir Henry, following on a weakening attack of influenza, resigned the premiership, and on April 22 of that year he succumbed to this

bodily ailment and died. On Sir Henry's resignation, King Edward summoned the Premier's Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K. C., M. P., and on April 8 (1899) he became Prime Minister.

THE PRESENT H. H. ASQUITH'S MINISTRY (1908—).

The new, present-day English Premier, who is a Yorkshireman, born in 1852, a lawyer by profession, and a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, entered political life in 1886, as member for East Fife in the House of Commons, which he still represents. Though professedly a Liberal-Unionist, Mr. Asquith holds party ties somewhat loosely, claiming for himself full liberty of action on certain political questions (to wit, the South African or Transvaal War) without incurring the imputation of party disloyalty. Though still a comparatively young man, he has filled with distinction several high offices of state. In Mr. Gladstone's fourth ministry and in that of Lord Rosebery (1894), he acted as Home Secretary, and in his predecessor, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. His effectiveness during the Home Rule debates in the Commons gave him a prominent position in the House, while he has outside of it won high repute as an advocate and as a distinguished alumnus of Oxford. In Parliament, in 1892, he moved the amendment to the speech from the throne which resulted in the fall of the Salisbury government. Besides serving on the Ecclesiastical Commission, Mr. Asquith has taken a prominent part in labour disputes, and is known to-day as an able and consistent, all-round man. His Cabinet is composed of strong material, and his ministry promises to be a long and useful one.

To these sketches of prominent and picturesque public characters in English politics, the writer-editor may be permitted to conclude the brief series with a pen-portrait of the most notable of the group, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Glad-

stone, who resigned the Liberal party leadership on March 4, 1894, and spent the remaining four years of his useful life in retirement among his books, dying on the 19th of May, 1898, in the eighty-ninth year of his life. The sketch of his distinguished career will be found in the following pages:

CHAPTER XVII.

W. E. GLADSTONE: HIS CAREER AND WORK.

No more illustrious name has in modern days marked the Parliamentary annals of the British nation than that of the great Commoner and representative Liberal, William Ewart Gladstone. So unique is his personality, and so preponderating the influence he has exercised throughout a long life in the domain of national politics, that one can name no other English statesman, save perhaps Pitt or Peel, who has put so great an impress on the legislation of his country or rivalled him in the art of governing. Few, if any, of his contemporaries have during the sixty-five years of his parliamentary career occupied a larger place than he has in the public eye and mind. Commanding as is the position he won in the field of politics, hardly less notable is the interest he evoked in religious, literary, and humanitarian circles. Amazing is the extent and not less amazing the variety, of the subjects that interested him, and upon which he either talked or wrote. Not less remarkable were the gifts of mind and heart which he brought to the consideration of these subjects and the eloquence with which he illumined them.

Until 1898, when he died, Gladstone was the great marvel of his age, when we consider not only the vigour of his mind and body, but the phenomenal power he possessed of swaying multitudes. In his gifts of speech nature was indeed bountiful to him, for no public man of his time was dowered with a more exquisite voice, while magnificent was his diction and impassioned his eloquence. As a debater in Parliament he was long without a peer, since few men have had such a thorough knowledge of public affairs, so great a power of comprehending the exigencies of a

situation, or a more wonderful capacity for grasping details. In ability to present a subject, and to illumine it with the gifts of lucid exposition, the veteran statesman stood unrivalled.

Mr. Gladstone was born in Liverpool, England, December 29, 1809, his father, Sir John Gladstone, being a well-known merchant of that city. Mr. Gladstone was of Scotch descent on both sides. He was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1831. As a member of the Oxford Union Debating Society, he early showed his skill in dialectics, and gave promise of rare gifts as a debater and orator, which he was subsequently to manifest, in a remarkable degree, in moulding the political history of his country. From that mimic parliament he passed, in 1833, to the House of Commons, having been elected, in the Conservative interest, for the borough of Newark at the general election of December, 1832. Here, in the Reform Parliament of the era, he strengthened the Tory ranks by proving himself a strong opponent of all advanced measures of political reform, which he was, in later years, to espouse. So strong at this time was his Toryism, that we find him, in the Parliament that voted twenty millions sterling for the manumission of the slaves, if not hostile to their emancipation, at least opposed to an immediate and indiscriminate enfranchisement.

In other respects the young orator made a favourable impression, the House being taken by his manner, as well as by his diction and fluency. His power as a debater, and even at this early stage of his career his parliamentary capacity, commended him to the notice of Sir Robert Peel, who, on taking office at the close of 1834, appointed Gladstone Junior Lord of the Treasury, and, after some shifting of scenes, when Peel had formed a stable government, he offered Gladstone the offices of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. He was at the same time (1841) sworn a member of the Privy Council,

and, two years later, succeeded to the presidency of the Board of Trade.

In these several capacities, and at a time of great economical change, heavy were the burdens which fell upon Mr Gladstone, in explaining and defending the policy of the Government. The revision of the tariff of 1842 was almost entirely the result of his labours; and that it passed both Houses with but little alteration was due to its author's mastery of details, coupled with his knowledge of commercial affairs and their underlying economic principles. In 1845, he succeeded Lord Stanley (the late Earl of Derby) as Secretary of State for the Colonies; but owing to the attitude he assumed towards the religious questions of the time, and especially that of the Maynooth grant, he resigned office and his seat for Newark, and for a while remained out of Parliament. His reason for opposing, for a time, the Maynooth College endowment was, that the proposed measure ran counter to the views he had enunciated in "The State in Its Relations with the Church," a work from his pen, which he had just published, and which embodied much of the high religious Toryism that marked his opinions at this era. From this attitude he in time swerved, as he also swerved from the convictions which he early held on the subject of protection and other high-and-dry characteristics of the Tory reactionism of the period.

In 1847, Mr. Gladstone was elected to represent Oxford University in Parliament, a connection which he maintained without a break until 1865. The transition from the Tory to the Liberal now began to show itself, in his supporting the proposal to admit Jews to Parliament, in his defense of the free-trade policy of his chief, Sir Robert Peel, and his advocacy of the repeal of the navigation laws, as well as in the change that came over his views on the colonial policy of the imperial country. His strong humanitarianism also began at this time to influence his political convictions, as his speeches in the session of 1850

manifest, during the debate on Greece and the claims of British subjects against that power, and in his strenuous remonstrances with the court of Naples on its inhuman treatment of political offenders.

Sir Robert Peel's death, in 1850, paved the way for a still ampler career for Mr. Gladstone, and for greater successes as a Parliamentary debater. The first of his famous oratorical successes was gained in 1852, during the debate on Mr. Disraeli's budget of that year, which led to the defeat of the Derby-Disraeli ministry and the coming into power of Lord Aberdeen's coalition Government of Whigs and Peelites. This was the beginning of the long rivalry in the political arena of the two great Parliamentary athletes,—Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone,—a rivalry which lasted for almost a quarter of a century. In Aberdeen's ministry, which lived on till the Crimean War broke up the coalition, Mr. Gladstone held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. During his period of office, he inaugurated a new era of finance in his first budget, by relieving the nation of much irritating taxation, and bringing forward, at the same time, a favourable scheme for the gradual reduction of the national debt. In Palmerston's administration (1855), Mr. Gladstone continued, for a few months, to hold the finance ministership, but resigned it, owing to the Premier's resisting Mr. Roebuck's motion for a Sebastopol inquiry, though he continued to give the Government a general support.

In the winter of 1858-59, Gladstone accepted, under Lord Derby's second ministry, a special mission to the Ionian Islands, to arrange certain difficulties which had arisen in the administration of that dependency, soon to be made over to Greece. Lord Palmerston having returned to power in 1859, Mr. Gladstone resumed his former post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and brought forward one of his notable financial measures, giving effect to the commercial treaty with France, and providing for the repeal of the paper duty, which the House of Lords, for a while, foolishly sought

to veto. For some years his master hand guided the national finances, and brought an era of unwonted prosperity to the country. But one mistake he made at this period—a mistake which he afterwards confessed to be an error of judgment—in his expressing his conviction, in a speech at Newcastle, that Jefferson Davis had succeeded in making the Southern States, then in revolt from the American Union, an independent nation.

Palmerston's death, in 1865, which called Lord John Russell to the Premiership, made Mr. Gladstone leader in the House of Commons. The general election of that year severed Mr. Gladstone's connection with the representation of Oxford University, and drove him to South Lancashire for a seat. In the following year, Lord Russell's second administration was defeated in committee on its Reform Bill, and Lord John, with Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, resigned. Mr. Gladstone's fight for reform was, however, not without effect, for Mr. Disraeli, in the incoming administration, introduced and carried a Conservative measure (the Reform Bill of 1867) which has since been expanded until it has become practically household suffrage in cities and boroughs. Mr. Disraeli, on his accession to office (1868), met defeat on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions in regard to Irish Church disestablishment, and Mr. Gladstone, in 1869, became, for the first time, Prime Minister. In the elections of that year he lost his seat in South Lancashire, but was returned for Greenwich.

Ireland and Irish affairs now began to interest Mr. Gladstone, probably owing to the Fenian disturbances of 1867, and the rising discontent of the sister island in the United Kingdom. The immediate result was the Irish Church Disestablishment Act, "one of the most remarkable legislative achievements of modern times." This was followed by Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act, by a measure (the Ballot Act) for the protection of voters, by an act to abolish religious tests at the universities, by the abolition of the system of purchase in the army, and by the Irish Land Act of 1870. But reform under Mr. Gladstone

seemed to be going faster at this period than the House or the country cared to follow; consequently, his measure known as the Irish University Bill of 1873 was defeated by three votes, and Mr. Gladstone tendered his resignation. In the following year, when Mr. Disraeli came back to power, Mr. Gladstone withdrew from the leadership of the Liberal party and occupied himself, for a time, in literary and historical studies. Besides these interests, he embroiled himself in ecclesiastical controversy, chiefly with reference to papal infallibility, a dogma then enunciated at Rome, and against which he hurled his famous brochure, "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance," and its complementary work, "Vaticanism: An Answer to Replies and Reproofs."

Mr. Gladstone's polemical fervour, about this time (1876), broke into flame over the bloodshed in Bulgaria, and the atrocities committed by the Turks in the East. Happily, Russia interposed on behalf of the oppressed Eastern nationalities, and her sword effected what diplomacy had failed to accomplish. Throughout this and other disquietudes of the period Mr. Gladstone's voice and pen were potent agencies in turning the tide of public opinion against Mr. Disraeli's bizarre imperial policy, and, as the result of the revolution in political feeling, Mr. Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield) was beaten at the polls, and Mr. Gladstone and his Liberal Cabinet succeeded to office (1880) with an unprecedentedly large majority at their backs. The early sessions of the new Parliament were chiefly occupied with harassing legacies from its predecessor, and the rudely obtrusive Irish question, the wrangling over which made a mockery of the nation's great deliberative assembly. The refusal of the House to admit Mr. Bradlaugh as a member without taking the conventional oath, served to augment the worries of the hour.

Distress in Ireland also added to the cup of Mr. Gladstone's troubles, since it emboldened the Irish Nationalists, incited by the Land League, to resort to acts of unseemly

menace and rowdyism in the Commons, and to deeds of violence in Ireland, which reached a climax in the Phoenix Park murders (1882), and brought upon the ill-starred island the severities of the Coercion Act, and other repressive government measures for the prevention of crime. In spite of the turbulent state of the country and the seditious acts of Irish "Invincibles," Mr. Gladstone was able to put on the statute-book his beneficial measure of a second Irish land bill, which, however, failed to please Mr. Parnell and his Home Rule following. The Boer war of 1880, and the Egyptian war of 1882, with its issuing conflict in the Soudan and the pitiful death of General Gordon, added further to the embarrassments of Mr. Gladstone's administration during the years 1883-85, though the routing of Arabi Pasha's forces by Lord Wolseley at Tel-el-Kebir and the chivalrous conduct of the British troops in the Soudan did much to placate aggrieved public opinion.

The sessions of 1884-85 were chiefly taken up with domestic legislation, and notably with a new Franchise Act—a bill for extending household franchise to the counties, and thus completing, as it has been said, the democratizing of the British Constitution. With the Franchise Bill was coupled a new Redistribution Bill, a further beneficent measure of reform, both of which became law in 1885. Soon after these bills passed both Houses, Mr. Gladstone's second administration was overthrown by a vote on the budget, and Lord Salisbury succeeded, for a few months, to power. A division of the new House on an amendment to the address rendered the Salisbury administration a short-lived one, and Mr. Gladstone formed his third ministry, and signalized his return to power by declaring himself in favour of Home Rule—a declaration which split the Liberal party in two and curtailed his lease of office. On introducing his Home Rule Bill (1886), its second reading in the House was rejected by a majority of thirty, and an appeal to the country was equally fatal to Mr. Gladstone and the measure. An overwhelming ma-

majority of Conservatives and Unionist Liberals was returned, and Lord Salisbury became, for the second time, Prime Minister, August 3, 1886.

The issue of the elections, despite Mr. Gladstone's great and commanding personality, was, as a matter of course, bitterly disappointing to the Gladstonians and their redoubtable chief. It was, however, the penalty which their chief was to pay for his loyalty to the Irish cause,—a cause which, as has been shown, lost to the party many of its most influential members, who, under the name of Liberal-Unionists, now supported Lord Salisbury's administration, one of its number, Mr. Goschen, taking charge, in the Tory Government, of Mr. Gladstone's old portfolio of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. But Mr. Gladstone, as a Parliamentary tactician of the first order, pursued his course, heedless of recalitrants, and stood firm in his resolve to befriend Ireland and do justice to her cause. He relaxed nothing of his activity, and continued ably to lead his party in opposition, until the wheel of fate turned once more in his favour, when he, in his eighty-third year, became, for the fourth time, Prime Minister. On February 13, 1893, the "old Parliamentary hand" introduced a second Home Rule Bill, which, in character and scope, varied little from the earlier measure, save on the question of Irish representation at Westminster. On September 1st, the bill was at length passed by the Commons by a vote of 301 to 267. Seven days later, the measure having been forwarded to the Upper House, the Lords rejected it by a vote of 419 to 40.

This second defeat of Mr. Gladstone's chivalrous attempt to conciliate Ireland snapped the link which bound the great Parliamentarian to public life. The retirement of the illustrious leader of the Liberal party in modern England, though not unexpected, fell like a thunderbolt upon the country which had so long known his governing hand. To public regret at the occurrence was added much and kindly sympathy with Mr. Gladstone's failure of hearing and eyesight, which, for a time, painfully marked the



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

strain which, of recent years, had been put upon him, as it marked the increasing infirmities of age. In Lord Rosebery he had named his own successor, and to his youthful colleague he confided the fortunes of his party, the veteran statesman finally withdrawing from political office. This act was followed by the relinquishing of his seat in Parliament, and by the announcement that he would not seek re-election.

Mr. Gladstone's retirement formed an epoch in English history; for, whatever may be thought of his Irish policy, or of the few mistakes he made in legislation, the abandonment of public life by one of the most illustrious of Englishmen, who for more than fifty years had taken a commanding part in the political affairs of the nation, could not fail to leave its impress on the age. Nor was it remarkable that the event, when it took place, should become, for the time, the theme of world-wide comment, since Mr. Gladstone's figure was essentially a unique one in the history of the century. Indeed, were it possible to unite the combined talents of a score of the more prominent public men whom he left on the Parliamentary stage, one could not, as has been aptly said, make a Gladstone. Nor is there an enemy who would honestly question the purity of his motives, the beneficence of his acts, or the lofty elevation of his character. At times his hold upon the masses of his countrymen was phenomenal, and while the glamour of his name has always been a potent force among his admirers, no one, of this age at least, has surpassed him in the gifts of Parliamentary oratory, or been more effective as an expounder and debater. Added to all this, it must be said of him, that he was, on the whole, the best representative of the English nation's political conscience, and an exalted type of its ethical morality.

But Mr. Gladstone's remarkable gifts have not been alone political, although not always with the same success did he venture into other fields of labour, while bringing to his task his characteristic earnestness and industry. His contributions to literature cover a wide and varied field,

and embrace disquisitions of much learning concerning Homer and Greek mythology, political treatises, essays in Biblical interpretation, tractates on ecclesiastical and theological subjects, together with autobiographical reminiscences, and gleanings from a long, arduous, and active life.—G. M. A.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA.

We have now to deal with one great section of England's colonial possessions, writes Mr. C. W. Oman—those situate in Africa. In 1815, we held no more than scattered ports along the shores of Guinea, at the mouth of the Gambia, in Sierra Leone, and on the Gold Coast, together with the new acquisitions of Cape Colony, taken from the Dutch, and Mauritius, annexed from France, by the Treaty of Vienna. The stations on the Guinea coast were no more than harbours, occupied, in spite of their deadly climate, in order to serve as debouches for the very profitable trade of the valley of the Niger. Mauritius was a tropical colony of the same sort as Ceylon or Malacca, profitable both from its sugar plantations and from its position as a port of call on the way to India. But Cape Colony had much greater possibilities before it, being capable of illimitable extension to the north over thousands of miles suitable for either cattle-breeding or corn-growing. Its position only differed from that of Australia in that the settlers were confronted with a large and warlike population of Kaffirs, who showed no signs of dying out before the advent of the white man, like the Australian natives.

The original settlement round Cape Town was and has always remained Dutch, but from 1815 onward English settlers kept pouring into the eastern part of the colony, where they are completely predominant. A greater or less amount of friction has always existed between the British Government and the Dutch "Boers"; in 1836 a great body of these settlers pushed northward in order to set up independent states on the Orange river and in Natal. But

they were followed up by the power which they detested, and both of their new communities were annexed. A second migration, or "trek," of the Boers then took place across the Vaal river, where they founded the "Transvaal," or "South African Republic." This was also seized for a moment by the British, but in 1852-54 we evacuated both it and the Orange river district, which once more organized themselves as independent states. Natal, however, has always remained a British colony, and the Dutch element there has for a long time not been predominant.

The curse of the South African colonies from their first foundation has been the incessant breaking out of Kaffir wars; since 1815 there have been at least a score of them. The most important was the Zulu war of 1879; a series of kings of genius had built up a military organization of great efficiency, by which Zulus made themselves masters of all the neighbouring tribes. The attitude of their ruler, Cetewayo, seemed so threatening that Sir Bartle Frere declared war on him and invaded his dominions. But the Zulus vindicated their warlike reputation by falling upon and annihilating a whole British regiment and several thousand native allies at the surprise of Isandula. It was not till large reinforcements, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, had been hurried out from England, that Cetewayo's power was destroyed at the battle of Ulundi, and his realm passed under British suzerainty.

Shortly before the Zulu war (1877) we annexed the Transvaal republic, where the Boer settlers seemed in danger of being exterminated by their black neighbours, and a state of anarchy was setting in. The Dutch protested at the time, but not much attention was paid to their complaints till, in 1880, after the Zulus had been destroyed and the Gladstone cabinet had superseded that of Lord Beaconsfield, they suddenly rose in arms, and destroyed or besieged the small British garrisons which occupied the country. Troops hurried up from Natal and the Cape were checked at the combats at Laing's Neck and the Ingogo river; but the worst disgrace was not suffered till the

fight at Majuba Hill (February 27, 1881), where the British were thrust out of the strong position they had taken, with heavy loss, including that of their commander, Sir Pomeroy Colley. Mr. Gladstone thereupon made peace with the Boers, granting them their independence under a very light and nominal admission of vassalage to Great Britain.

Since then rich gold-mines have been discovered in the Transvaal, to which thousands of British subjects have flocked; their centre is Johannesburg, now a town of a hundred thousand souls. The Boer government has always been carried on in a most narrow-minded and retrograde spirit; nearly all political rights are refused to the "Uitlander" settlers by the Dutch farmers, who now form a decided minority in the land which they are themselves unable or unwilling to develop. Constant chafing against this misrule finally led to a conspiracy on the part of the immigrants, and in December, 1895, there was a rising at Johannesburg, to aid which Dr. Jameson, then a high official of the British South African Company, made a most unwise and unjustifiable incursion into the Transvaal at the head of five hundred of his mounted police. They were defeated, surrounded, and captured *en masse* by the Boers, whereupon the Johannesburgers laid down their arms. Dr. Jameson's escapade not only brought us into trouble with Germany, but made our relations with the Transvaal far more difficult than before, as President Krüger not unnaturally persisted in believing that the British authorities in South Africa, if not the Colonial Office in London also, were at the back of Jameson's raid.

Since then affairs in the Transvaal have always been in the most strained condition, and difficulties may at any moment break out. The most deplorable part of the "Raid" has been that it has embittered the feelings between the Dutch and English inhabitants of South Africa, which had been slowly improving since the Boer war of 1880. It has also deferred for many years the project of a South African confederation, after the manner of that

which has been so successful in Canada; as long as the present relations prevail between the two races, nothing can be done.

The South African colonies, however, have other foreign politics beside those which concern the two Boer republics. Down to 1884 we were the only European power possessing a lodgment in the southern end of the "Dark Continent," save for the decaying Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. A slow and peaceful extension of Cape Colony northward seemed the natural line of development. In 1871, we annexed Griqualand West, where rich diamond mines had just been discovered, and the town of Kimberley was growing up. A little later Basutoland and other inland districts were taken under our protection. But in 1884 Prince Bismarck, then still at the height of his power, proclaimed a German Protectorate over Damaraland, the coast district north of the Orange River, while in 1885-90 similar claims were set up by Germany to the maritime tract on the eastern side of Africa north of Mozambique. This intrusion of a new colonial power into regions which we had fondly marked out as likely to pass into our own hands, forced England to take action, and the "scramble for Africa" began.

The danger was that the Germans, pushing inland from both sides of the continent, might meet in the valley of the Zambezi, and shut out our colonies from further expansion northward. Hence came about the establishment of the two great Chartered Companies. The "South Africa Company," incorporated in 1889, of which Mr. Cecil Rhodes has always been the leading spirit, seized Matabeleland and Mashonaland after a short war with the Matabeles, a warlike Zulu race who were formerly dominant in the regions inland from the Transvaal and Mozambique. The "Central Africa Company" operated further to the north, and occupied the regions beyond the Zambezi and to the west of the great lake Nyassa. Their sphere of influence was put under formal British protection in 1891. Thus the southern end of Mr. Rhodes's great "Cape Town

to Cairo" scheme was successfully put beyond the danger of German or Portuguese interference.

Other complications, however, arose further northward in the region about Zanzibar—an Arab state with a large undefined dominion on the mainland opposite the island capital of the Sultan. The German annexations about Vitu and Dar-es-Salaam (1885-90) devoured a great part of his nominal empire; Mombasa and the rest were leased to a third British Chartered Company—the "East Africa Company," founded in 1888. Zanzibar itself was placed under British protection in 1890, and an elaborate treaty with Germany delimited the spheres of the two powers, the line being drawn at the river Umba. The "East Africa Company" ceded its rights to the British Government in 1895, so that this territory is now held directly under the Crown. This protectorate extends all along the east coast of Africa, from Mombasa to the river Juba, where it touches on the north a sphere of Italian influence, reaching up to the mouth of the Red Sea. Beyond this lies another patch of British territory in Somaliland, facing Aden across the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and so guarding the way to Suez.

One further annexation has been made in East Africa, as late as 1894. In that year we assumed a protectorate over the inland kingdom of Uganda and the neighbouring regions. British missionary enterprise had for many years been very vigorous in this direction, and our attention had been called to it by the cruel persecutions of Christians carried out by Mtesa and his son Mwanga, the despot who murdered Bishop Hannington and his companions in 1888. The Uganda protectorate lies about the two great lakes of the Victoria and Albert Nyanza, and the headwaters of the Nile. Expeditions were until lately on the march to push northward from this region and connect our dominions with the middle Nile, where the British and Egyptian flags are floating at Fashoda. If it had not been for long civil wars in Uganda, this task would have been ere now completed. But the necessity for put-

ting down Mwanga and his partisans was followed by that for subduing a revolt of our own Soudanese mercenaries, and three years have been lost. Meanwhile, a railway is being rapidly pushed up from Mombasa to connect our inland protectorate with our headquarters at Zanzibar, a task that will probably be completed before the 20th century is much older.

The programme sketched out by Mr. Rhodes, of drawing a continuous chain of British protectorates from Cape Colony to the Nile valley, has thus been completed except at one point. Beyond the north end of Lake Nyassa, German East Africa touches the Belgian "Congo Free State," and until a right of transit is acquired through one or the other of those territories, the "Cape Town to Cairo" route cannot be practically used. It is probable that some arrangement will ultimately be made by which this difficulty can be got rid of.

In Western Africa the power with which we have had most of our difficulties is not Germany, but France. Down to the third quarter of the century we conducted well-nigh the whole trade of this part of the continent, through our settlements of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. The region was too unhealthy to lead us to attempt inland conquest, and after several expeditions to chastise the coast tribes, notably the Ashantees, we always withdrew to our ports again. But expansion inland has been forced upon us by the French, who, starting from their colonies of Senegal and the Ivory Coast, have conquered the inland of Guinea, or the "French Soudan," as they now call it, so as to cut off our Gambia and Sierra Leone settlements from their "hinterland." To prevent Lagos from being treated in the same way, and to keep the whole basin of the Lower Niger free for English trade, the "Royal Niger Company" was organized in 1885, and the coast from Lagos eastward as far as the Cameruns was taken under British protection. The Niger company has worked up the great stream, till its officials met the French descending it from the neighbourhood of Timbuctu. The

expected collision occurred at several points, and led to great diplomatic difficulties, which were ultimately settled only in 1898, by a treaty which gave the lands on the Middle Niger to France, and those from Say to the sea, along the Lower Niger, to England. This solid block of territory exploited by the Niger Company is cut off from any possibility of expansion eastward by the activity of the Germans in the Cameruns and the French on the Ubangi. The territories claimed by those powers now completely surround our Niger protectorate.

One further boundary in Africa remained to be settled—that between France and England in the regions where the basins of the Congo and the Nile meet. We have hinted at the Marchand expedition to Fashoda and its consequences. The last of them has been the final delimitation of the French and English spheres of influence in that debatable land. By an agreement reached in March, 1899, we have taken over, for ourselves, or our Egyptian *protégées*, Darfur, Kordofan and the Bahr-el-Gazal; while France is to be permitted to conquer Kanem Wadai and Baghirmi, when she can succeed in pushing troops into those remote regions.

Thus the “scramble for Africa” has ended in the annexation, real or nominal, of the whole continent by one European power or another. Except some desert tracts in the Eastern Sahara, south of Tripoli, there is no region which is not claimed by one of the great colonizing states. The boundaries now settled, however, are in many cases so unnatural, that their modification is certain to be one of the main employments of the twentieth century.

THE RECONQUEST OF THE SOUDAN (1896-99)

In the years which followed the suppression of Arabi's rebellion the government of Egypt was reorganized under British influence. Reforms were introduced into every branch of the administration, the condition of the people was greatly improved, and the finances were so well man-

aged that there was an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, the British consul-general, was the chief agent in this work. During the same period other Englishmen trained and disciplined the Egyptian army till it became an efficient body of fighting men. British troops had been withdrawn from the Soudan in 1885, after the fall of Khartoum, and it was left entirely to the possession of the Mahdi and his successor the Khalifa. Under English leaders, however, the new Egyptian army proved capable of defending the frontier of Egypt against attack from the south, and became finally efficient enough to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan. In 1896, the province of Dongola was recovered, and in 1897 Berber was reoccupied. The work was completed in 1898 when a mixed British and Egyptian force under General Kitchener defeated one of the Khalifa's lieutenants on the Atbara, a tributary of the Blue Nile (April 8, 1898), and routed the Khalifa's whole army with immense slaughter before the walls of his capital, Omdurman (September 2, 1898). A year later the Khalifa himself was killed in battle. For a moment the reconquest of the Soudan seemed likely to involve England in a quarrel with France, as a French post had been established at Fashoda in its extreme south. But the French Government eventually recognised that the place was properly a part of the Soudan, and ordered it to be evacuated.

VENEZUELA

During the same period another difference which threatened to lead to war was peacefully settled. For many years a dispute had existed as to the boundary between British Guiana and the neighbouring republic of Venezuela. An impression prevailed in the United States that Great Britain was unjustly seeking to extend her possessions at the expense of a weaker state. President Cleveland, claiming the right to protect South American republicanism against European aggression, called upon Eng-

land to submit the dispute to arbitration. Lord Salisbury, while denying the right of intervention claimed by the United States, consented, with certain restrictions, to accept the method of settlement proposed. Accordingly, a treaty for arbitration was signed at Washington on February 2, 1897, and a court was established to determine the disputed boundary. It gave judgment in October 1899, awarding to British Guiana the greater part of the territory claimed by the British Government.

CHINA

In 1894, a war broke out between China and Japan, in the course of which China was completely defeated. The break-up of the Chinese Empire seemed a possible consequence, and the European powers began to lay hands upon Chinese territory. Russia claimed the control of Manchuria and annexed Port Arthur; Germany seized Kiao-Chau; and Great Britain took possession of Wei-hai-wei, and extended her territory on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong. The result was a popular movement in China directed against all foreigners and their friends. Large numbers of Chinese Christians and many European missionaries were barbarously murdered. The German ambassador was killed in the streets of Peking, and the ambassadors of the other powers with their retinues were besieged in the British Legation in that city. The great powers of Europe, joined by the United States and Japan, intervened to restore order and protect their representatives. An army composed of the soldiers of many nations, of which the English and Indian troops formed part, captured Peking, and set at liberty the besieged ambassadors. (August 1900.) But the restoration of order in China and the settlement of terms was a work of greater difficulty, and was not effected till the following year.

CHAPTER XIX.

BRITAIN'S CHIEF COLONIES.

PASSING from China we note, writes Mr. C. W. Oman, that, in 1815, England had hardly any hold on the Indo-Chinese and Malay lands, merely owning a few scattered harbours in Sumatra, the island of Penang, and a small strip of coast in the Malay peninsula, called "Province Wellesley," from the great Governor-General, who acquired it in 1800. But, in 1824, we exchanged Bantam and our other ports in Sumatra with the Dutch for the far more eligible colony of Malacca, dominating the straits through which all trade passes from India to China and Japan. To this was added the island of Singapore, ceded by a Malay rajah in the same year, 1824. The moment that this possession came into our hands it began to develop in the most extraordinary way; Singapore, which, when we received it, was a mere island of jungle, is now a town of 200,000 souls, and one of the greatest ports of the world. It has become a halfway house, not only for commerce passing from China eastward or westward, but also for all the trade of Australia and the Dutch East Indies.

A similar greatness has come to Hong-Kong, which we seized in 1842 after the first Chinese war; for fifty years it was the only spot in the further East under a civilized European Government, and, "trade following the flag," became the emporium of the greater part of the Chinese empire. The opening of other ports on the mainland, after the second Chinese war, took away its practical monopoly, but has had no effect whatever in diminishing the bulk of trade which passes through its harbour. The island-city has now 284,000 inhabitants, and is growing

across the water on to the mainland, where further concessions of land have just been granted by the Chinese Government. The effect of the recent seizure of ports further to the north by Germany and Russia, and of our own "lease" of Wei-Hai-Wai (1898), has still to be worked out. The only thing of which we can be certain is that the parcelling out of the Chinese coast into "spheres of influence," by powers which believe in strict protection, cannot be favourable to our own trade; and that the more that the policy of the "open door" for all commerce in the Celestial empire is maintained, the better will it be for Great Britain. Monopoly in a part will not compensate us for losing the power of competition in the whole.

Australia was in 1800 still imperfectly known, though, as we have already had occasion to mention, an English convict settlement had been planted at Port Jackson some twelve years before. But even down to 1802 its shape was so little known that the great island of Tasmania was supposed to form part of it. As long as the region was nothing more than a place of punishment for those "who left their country for their country's good," it was not likely to develop fast or happily. But, after the peace of Vienna, the capacities of the vast plains of Eastern Australia began to be known; no region so well suited for pastoral enterprise on the largest scale exists in all the world. Free settlers provided with some little capital began to drift in, and to plant their stations on the broad grassy upland of New South Wales, where sheep and cattle soon began to multiply at an astounding rate. But for a whole generation the unsavoury convict element continued to predominate, and to give the continent a bad name. Fortunately, the amelioration of the English criminal law between 1820 and 1840, began to diminish the depth of the stream of ruffianism which was poured into Australia year by year, while the free colonists grew more numerous as the opening for the sheep farmer began to be realized. The feeling among them as to the further importation of convicts grew so strong, that the British Government diverted the main

stream from New South Wales (1840), to newer penal settlements in Tasmania and Western Australia. The system was not, however, finally abandoned in Tasmania till 1853, and in Western Australia till 1864, though in the last years of its existence the annual export of convicts had been very small.

Down to the middle of the century it seemed likely that Australia would never develop into anything more than a thinly populated pastoral country, occupied by a community of "squatters," each owning a vast run of many thousand acres, and employing a few shepherds and cattlemen to tend his live stock. Wool, tallow, and hides, with a certain amount of timber, were practically the sole exports of the continent. But all was changed in 1848-51 by the discovery in Port Phillip, the southern region of New South Wales, of enormous deposits of alluvial gold, richer than anything known in the old world, and vying in wealth with those of California. There was of course an instant rush to the new gold-field, and the population of the Port Phillip district went up so rapidly that it was cut off from the parent colony, and formed into a separate community, under the name of Victoria, in 1851. It has ever since remained one of the chief gold-producing centres of the world, and more than £250,000,000 worth of the precious metal has been extracted from its mines. More than £4,000,000 worth a year is still exported, though the easy surface deposits have long been exhausted, and all the metal has to be crushed by machinery from the solid quartz reef. Some time after the Victorian gold-field was developed, similar fields of smaller extent and lesser richness were found to exist in other parts of the continent. New South Wales, and the younger colony of Queensland (created in 1859), have both an important output, and quite lately (1886), similar deposits have been discovered in Western Australia, which was till that date the most belated and thinly peopled of the colonies of Australia.

The gold discoveries led to a great increase of the town-dwelling as opposed to the pastoral population of the colo-

nies. They also led to a great influx of population over and above that actually engaged in the mining industry. The growth of a class of small farmers led to a long-protracted struggle between them and the "squatters" who had previously had a monopoly of the land. The latter held their enormous pasture-runs by long leases from the Crown, which they desired to render perpetual. Their opponents wished to cut up these vast estates, in order that arable farms might be carved out of such parts of them as are suited to the plough. Since the introduction of representative government in Australia, in 1850-51, the tendency has, of course, been to place power in the hands of the majority, and to deprive the squatters of their ancient ascendancy. But there are many parts of the continent where pasturage must always be predominant; great tracts of the interior are so ill-provided with water that they must always be unfitted for arable cultivation. In the northern part of the continent, including the greater part of the colony of Queensland, the climate is so hot that it is unsuited for field work by Europeans. Such regions naturally become sugar or rice plantations, which have to be worked by the imported labour of Chinese or "Kanakas" (natives of the South Sea Islands). But the Australian proletariat show great jealousy of such foreign labour, and would apparently prefer that the sub-tropical parts of the continent should be undeveloped, rather than that a large coloured population should grow up in them. Two of the characteristic features of extreme democracy in a new country have been very well marked in some of the Australian colonies,—the tendency towards strict forms of protection in commerce, and the desire to thrust all duties and responsibilities on the Government till State socialism is almost in view. Legislation to prevent the accumulation of large properties, by heavy progressive taxation, has also been heard of. Victoria has always been in the van in such democratic ideas, while New South Wales has shown itself more cautious.

At present the main topic in the whole group of Austra-

lian colonies is the dispute about Federation; all the six colonies now existing* are in theory favourable to it, but sectional interests, of course, exist to make the carrying out of the scheme difficult. The jealousy between the two capital cities of New South Wales and Victoria—Sydney and Melbourne—necessitates the selection of some secondary town as the centre of federal government. There is also enough difference in the domestic policy of several of the colonies to make an agreement difficult, but that it will be ere long arrived at cannot be doubted, and is in every way desirable. When accomplished, it will be a step towards the solution of the larger problem of Imperial Federation. Australia has shown no indisposition to take her part in the defence of the empire; the colonies already maintain in common a small navy, known as the "Auxiliary Squadron," and in 1885 New South Wales contributed a military contingent to one of the Soudan expeditions.

To the east of Australia lies the colony of New Zealand, consisting of two large and one small island placed far out in the Pacific, some twelve hundred miles from the nearest point of New South Wales. Colonization here only began in the reign of Victoria, the first emigrants arriving in 1839. The history of New Zealand has been very different from that of the Australian continent, owing to the existence of a large and energetic native population. The aborigines of Australia, a few thousands scattered over a vast continent, were among the lowest and most barbarous of mankind. The Maori tribes of New Zealand, on the other hand, were a fierce and intelligent race, given to the horrid practice of cannibalism, but in other respects by no means an unpromising people. They were ready and able to defend themselves, when they considered their rights had been infringed, and since the first settlement there have been three wars (1843-47, 1863-64, 1869-70), in which

*New South Wales (dating from 1788) originally included all the Australian colonies. Out of it were cut Tasmania in 1825, West Australia in 1829, South Australia in 1836, Victoria in 1851, and Queensland in 1859.

the Maoris displayed great courage, and considerable skill in fortification. Regular troops in large force had to be employed to evict them from their stockaded "*Pahs*." Of late years a better *modus vivendi* has been found, and they seem contented with their large reservations of land, their subsidies from Government, and the four seats which have been given them in the New Zealand Parliament.

The islands were, at their first colonization, organized as six provinces, each with a separate government, and were not united into a thoroughly centralized union till 1875. Their general character differs from that of Australia, as they are far more broken up by mountains, better watered, and much more temperate in climate: in the Southern island snow not unfrequently falls. There are large pastoral districts and grassy plains, which supply the frozen meat now so common in English markets, but also considerable mining regions and large forest tracts. New Zealand was never dominated by the "squatter" aristocracy which once ruled Australia, but has always been in the hands of the smaller farmers. It is in sentiment the most democratic of all the Australian colonies, and has gone further even than Victoria on the road towards placing all social enterprise, industry, and commerce under State control.

In the Western Pacific, Great Britain was, for the first three quarters of the century, content to possess the larger part of the trade of the numerous groups of islands, France and the United States having much smaller interests. But the French annexations in Tahiti and New Caledonia, and the later appearance of the Germans in New Guinea, led to our setting our mark on a good many of these coral archipelagos. The Fiji Isles was our first annexation (1874); Southern New Guinea was annexed in 1884, to cover the northern flank of Australia. At various later days the Cook, Solomon, Ellice, and Santa Cruz groups have been taken over. A complete list of our possessions in this quarter would show many other unfamiliar names; none of them are of any great size or any high importance.

The main reason of their occupation has always been the activity of our encroaching neighbours, and not our own desire for more coral reefs and atolls. It will be curious to note the ultimate fate of Samoa, where British, American, and German interests are all now involved, and are very difficult to reconcile.

Our North American colonies have a very different history from those of Australasia. In that continent no annexations have been made nor frontiers moved since 1815, though there has been trouble with the United States on three separate occasions as to the exact interpretation of old boundaries, where definitions were placed on paper before exact geographical knowledge was available. The most important of them was the "Oregon question" of 1846, when the delimitation of the English and American possessions on the Pacific coast was carried out, by the simple expedient of drawing a line along the forty-ninth degree of latitude, from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific. All natural boundaries were thus overruled in the most arbitrary way, but a fair compromise was on the whole obtained.

The internal history of these colonies has been far more interesting than that of most of our possessions. In 1815, Canada had just escaped the imminent danger of being overrun by the armies of the United States. The splendid valour and loyalty of her militia had aided the small British garrison to fling back three invasions, and the peace of Ghent had restored the condition of affairs which had prevailed before the war. Our possessions consisted of six separate colonies, each administered as a separate unit—Upper and Lower Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, as well as of the vast, once desolate Northern and North-Western territories extending to the Pacific, which were then in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. Lower Canada, an entirely French-speaking and Catholic province, the remains of the old French colony of "New France" was still by far the most important member of the group. The

other settlements, the base of whose population was composed of the exiled loyalists who left the United States in 1783 to seek new homes, were still in their infancy; in Upper Canada the inhabited zone extended no further west than Kingston and Toronto. Each province was governed by a ministry ("Executive Council"), and a Legislative Council of Crown nominees, with a Representative Assembly elected by the people.

As the colonies developed, friction began to grow up between the non-representative ministry and Upper House on the one side, and the elective assembly on the other. The people naturally wished to have a greater control over the executive than had been granted in a constitution drawn up in the eighteenth century before the growth of free colonies was understood. The trouble was worst in Lower Canada, where the barrier of language and national sentiment existed between the Government and the French population of the province. Led on by Papineau and other demagogues, the French Canadians burst out into open rebellion in 1836-37. But they met no assistance from the English colonists, and were suppressed without much difficulty by the troops and loyalist volunteers. Their numerous sympathizers in the United States were disappointed to see the rising collapse, and the republican propaganda disappear.

The Home Government, however, was wise enough to see that the rebellion in Lower Canada had a real grievance beneath it, and sent our Lord Durham to America, in 1838, to report on the advisability of changes in the form of administration. In accordance with his advice, the whole constitution was recast in 1840. The two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada were united, so as to deprive the discontented French party of their separate political existence. A single parliament was instituted for their governance, consisting of a small upper house, or "Legislative Council," of life members, and a larger lower house chosen every four years by the electors. The lower house obtained a practical control over taxation and the choice

of ministers, which it had not previously possessed. Similar modifications were carried out in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which provinces Lord Durham had wished to incorporate with Canada, but this scheme was only accomplished a quarter of a century after his death.

Since the reforms of 1840, there has been absolutely no constitutional trouble of any importance in Canada or the small sister-colonies. The only military incidents that they have seen were the repulse of the Fenian invasions of 1866 and 1867, and the suppression of the rebellions of the Indian half-breeds of the North-West Territory in 1870 and 1884. Both operations were accomplished entirely by the colonial militia. The advance of all the North American colonies has been steady and increasing; wealth has been found in the enormous forests of the north and the rich prairie land of the west. The limit of population has been moving steadily towards the Pacific, on whose shores two new settlements, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, were incorporated in 1858; while in the older lands, Upper Canada, the English-speaking province of Ontario, has quite superseded Lower Canada, the French-speaking province of Quebec, as the premier colony.

CHAPTER XX.

GROWTH OF THE CANADIAN NORTH-WEST.

ALTHOUGH a trying experience while it lasted, writes Mr. David M. Duncan, of Winnipeg, the Riel or Saskatchewan rebellion was not without its good results. The Dominion government was brought to recognise the claims of the *Métis*, and did so by promptly issuing title-deeds of their lands. In recognition of their growing importance, the North-West Territories were granted representation in the Senate and the House of Commons. To preserve order and to protect the lives of the settlers scattered throughout the country, the Mounted Police force was considerably increased. But the greatest influence of the rebellion was not upon the North-West alone, but upon the whole Dominion. Eagerly the volunteers went,

“Over dim forest and lake,
Over lone prairie and brake,
The clamour of battle to wake,
For kindred and country’s sake
Into the North and the Westland.”

All the provinces were interested in the suppression of the revolt; their sons either shared in the fighting or were pressing to the front when stopped by the news of Riel’s surrender. Common hardships upon the march, common dangers in the field of battle, and the common anxiety of friends at home made real in the hearts of Canadians the union which Confederation had brought about.

Rebellion and the rapid growth of population which followed showed the Dominion authorities the wisdom of giving to the North-West Territories a stronger government. The Council was abolished and its place taken by an elective Assembly. From the Assembly the lieutenant-

governor was instructed to choose four members to act as an advisory Council. For a few years the lieutenant-governor did not recognize the independence of the Assembly, but in the end that body came to enjoy powers practically equal to those of the provincial Assemblies of the Dominion.

THE YUKON

The gold-seekers of the far West were moving gradually northwards. From river to river they advanced until, in 1896, gold was found in large quantities upon the Klondike, a branch of the Yukon River. The news spread quickly, and, although the newly discovered treasure-land lay close to the Arctic Circle, thousands of fortune hunters were soon pouring in along the northern trails. Upon the Klondike, near its junction with the Yukon, a cluster of tents and log cabins gave promise of a permanent settlement, a promise which has been fulfilled in the now famous Dawson City. At first the Yukon Territory was controlled by the North-West government. Later it was organized as a separate district, under an official called the Commissioner of the Yukon, appointed by the governor-general-in-council. The commissioner is advised by a Council elected by the people of the district. More recently, the Yukon has been granted representation in the House of Commons.

CONFEDERATION AND THE CANADIAN DOMINION LEADERS

The confederation period of Canadian history has produced not a few statesmen, who have dealt ably with questions of Dominion, even of imperial, interest. The giant of them all was Sir John A. Macdonald, whose name is so closely associated with two great events—the forming of the Dominion and the building of a trans-continental railway. In 1891, death robbed Canada of her greatest statesman, and a year later of his political opponent, Alexander Mackenzie, a man whose honesty has become proverbial in

Canadian history. Sir John's long tenure of office was followed by four short administrations, those of Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Sir Charles Tupper. In 1896, the long rule of the Conservatives, which began in 1878, was brought to a close. The Liberals returned to power under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the present Premier. Sir Wilfrid has proved himself an able statesman, and has been especially active in promoting a closer relationship between Canada and the rest of the British Empire.

THE UNITY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Next to the expansion and consolidation of the Dominion, the most important fact of recent Canadian history has been the strengthening of the ties binding Canada to the British Empire. An event occurred in 1894 which had an important bearing upon this movement, namely, the gathering of the Colonial Conference at Ottawa. Delegates were present from Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and South Africa, and the Earl of Jersey, representing Great Britain, presided. The object of the conference was to promote trade and good feeling between the colonies, thereby fostering the unity of the British Empire. One result of this gathering has been the laying of a cable between Canada and Australia, completing an all-Britain system. The burden of this enterprise was shared by Great Britain, Australia, and Canada. In the year 1902, Sir Sandford Fleming of Ottawa, who is commonly called the father of the Pacific Cable, was able to send around the world on British lines a message of congratulation to the governor-general of Canada. The imperial bonds were drawn still closer by the Diamond Jubilee, the celebration in 1897 of the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. Upon this occasion the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the empire, troops from the various colonies taking part in the military parade. The colonial premiers

took advantage of the opportunity to hold another meeting to discuss matters of intercolonial trade.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had such an important bearing upon the expansion of the Dominion, was an event of great moment to the British Empire. The construction of the transcontinental road was followed by the establishment of a Pacific steamship line connecting Canada's western coast with the Asiatic East. The Atlantic and Pacific steamship lines and the Canadian Pacific Railway furnished Great Britain with an alternative route to Australia and India. In the event of a war with an eastern power this route would be invaluable to the British Empire. Another event which tended to consolidate the Empire was the introduction of imperial penny postage. In 1898, through the efforts of Sir William Mulock, the postmaster-general of Canada, a letter rate of two cents an ounce was adopted for the United Kingdom, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Colony, and Natal. This rate was afterwards extended to other parts of the British dominions.

Late in 1899 war broke out between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic in South Africa. The premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at once introduced into Parliament a resolution in favour of offering aid to the motherland. The House unanimously adopted the resolution with the greatest enthusiasm, every member standing and joining in the National Anthem. Canada's offer of a thousand men was accepted by the imperial government. In two weeks' time the contingent, including representatives from every province, was enlisted, equipped, and transported to Quebec, ready to embark for South Africa. Later, when it was seen that the war was likely to be prolonged, several more contingents were hurried to the distant battle ground. Eighty-three hundred and seventy-two men was Canada's contribution to the forces of the Empire. Of these two hundred and fifty-two were wounded, while two hundred and twenty-four lie buried beneath the veldts of South Africa. In marching, scouting, and fighting the Canadian

troops proved themselves worthy sons of the empire, and in several hard-fought engagements bore themselves with credit beside Britain's most honoured regiments. The eagerness with which the colonies came to the aid of the motherland in the Boer War proved the unity of the British Empire.

"Shall we not through good and ill
Cleave to one another still ?
Britain's myriad voices call,
Sons, be welded each and all
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain heart and soul !
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne !
Britons, hold your own."

—TENNYSON.

While the war was still in progress, Queen Victoria, who also was styled Empress of India, died. As the cables flashed the news around the empire, Britons everywhere mourned the loss of the sovereign who had "wrought her people lasting good."

"Her court was pure ; her life serene ;
God gave her peace ; her land reposed ;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as mother, wife and Queen."

In the autumn of the year which saw the late Queen laid to rest, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (now Prince and Princess of Wales), made a tour of the empire and were everywhere enthusiastically welcomed. In the following year, King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra were crowned. All the colonies were represented in the coronation ceremonies, and no colonial representatives, it has been said, were more graciously received than Canada's. Thus have events, some sad, others joyful, drawn the Dominion of Canada closer to the motherland, putting meaning into the words when her people sing, "God save the King."

CHAPTER XXI.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE TRANSVAAL WAR.

IN 1899, war broke out in South Africa. The conventions by which Mr. Gladstone's government had annulled the annexation of the Transvaal Republic and restored to its inhabitants the right of self-government subjected it to a vague British suzerainty. The limits of the republic were defined, and the Transvaal was prohibited from entering into any treaties with foreign states without the consent of the British Government. From the first there was much friction, and many disputes arose. The Boers persistently overpassed the boundaries imposed by the conventions, in order to conquer fresh territory from the natives. The British Government had to interfere to prevent the annexation of Zululand and Bechuanaland, and north of the Transvaal a British colony called Rhodesia was established in 1889 by a chartered company, called the British South Africa Company. A more serious cause of dispute arose from the treatment of British settlers in the Transvaal. Many Englishmen were established in that country before its retrocession by Mr. Gladstone, and the discovery of goldfields there in 1886 attracted a large white population, four-fifths of which was of British origin. These immigrants, whom the Boers called "outlanders," were badly governed, heavily taxed, and persistently denied the political rights which the men of Dutch descent enjoyed in all the British colonies in Africa. Discontent spread among the outlanders, and, as all redress of their grievances was refused, some of them plotted an armed rising in order to force concessions from the Transvaal Government. At the end of 1896 a small body of

irregular troops levied for the defence of the territories of the Chartered Company against the natives entered the Transvaal, but were defeated and captured by the Boers. Though "Jameson's raid," as this invasion was termed, from the name of its leader, was disavowed by the British Government, it greatly increased the friction which already existed between the republic and its suzerain. The Transvaal Government, which had at first promised concessions to the outlanders, became still more hostile to them, and prepared large armaments. In 1889, the British outlanders petitioned the Queen to intervene on their behalf, and Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, demanded that they should be granted political rights. Mr. Krüger, the President of the Republic, refused any substantial concessions, and demanded, on behalf of the Transvaal, the complete abolition of British suzerainty. No agreement was arrived at, and, as the British Government declined to withdraw the troops which it had sent to the Cape, President Krüger published a declaration of war and invaded the British colonies. (October 1899.) The Boers of the Transvaal, who were joined by those of the Orange Free State and by many colonial rebels, gained at first many successes. Mafeking and Kimberley, in the north-west of Cape Colony, were for many months besieged, and the army of 11,000 men charged with the defence of Natal was shut up in its fortified camp at Ladysmith. Efforts to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith were defeated with loss at Magersfontein and Colenso. Early in 1900, however, Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley, forced 4,000 Boers to surrender at Paardeberg, and successively occupied the capitals of the Free State and the Transvaal. General Buller about the same time relieved Ladysmith, and drove the Boer forces out of Natal. President Krüger fled to Europe, and the annexation of the two Boer republics was proclaimed. Nevertheless, their subjugation was only partial, and for some time longer roving bands of Boers carried on an active guerilla war, which is being gradually suppressed.

While the Transvaal War, like the Crimean War, revealed many defects in the organization of the army, it also exhibited a convincing proof of the military value of the colonies. The self-governing colonies of Great Britain, regarding the war as one for the unity of the Empire, sent contingents of volunteers to take part in it. It became evident that the Empire, which had grown up during the nineteenth century, was not a collection of heterogeneous atoms, but a great association of states bound together by common interests and common aims.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PASSING OF THE GREAT QUEEN.

QUEEN VICTORIA did not live to see the conclusion of the war: she died on January 22, 1901, in her eighty-second year, having reigned a longer time than either Elizabeth or George III. Like Queen Elizabeth, she might have said with truth that she never cherished a thought in her heart that did not tend to her people's good. Her influence in public affairs was constantly employed to moderate party differences, and to facilitate the harmonious working of the constitution. Though with the advance of democracy, the direct power of the monarchy steadily diminished, its popularity, thanks to her, had continually increased. She left her successor not only wider dominions than she had inherited, but a throne established upon a firmer because a broader basis.

It may not be amiss here in noting the demise of Queen Victoria and the accession of Edward VII. as King to call the attention of readers of this volume to the "Journals of Queen Victoria," kept by her late Majesty throughout her reign, extracts from which have appeared under the supervision of Lord Esher, Deputy-Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle, one of the editors of the work. Some extracts were recently read in a lecture delivered by Viscount Esher at the Royal Institution, London, the subject of which was the late illustrious Queen. In an issue, dated March 8, 1909, of the Edinburgh *Scotsman*, the following editorial appeared, which it may interest our readers to peruse. It bears, as will be seen, on the coming to light of the good Queen's "Journals," extending over the full period of her reign. Some day, it is to be hoped,

these Journals will find authorized publication. Here is *The Scotsman's* editorial comment:

"There is a tradition," says Professor Thorold Rogers, in his Oxford Lectures, speaking of Pitt's pliant Parliament of 1795, "that the secret materials of history are kept back in this country for more than a century—a pretty clear indication how discreditable these secret materials are." This tradition has been broken in the annals of the British Crown after the accession of Queen Victoria. By authority of the Sovereign, the inner history of the Royal House, and of the delicate and sometimes difficult relations between the occupant of the Throne and her Ministers, has been laid bare down to a late period. The private letters, as well as the official correspondence, that passed between the Queen and her advisers at critical junctures, involving Constitutional problems of the highest importance, and dealing with points that touched keen personal and political feelings and susceptibilities, have been freely submitted to the eyes of the world. And now we have fresh and fuller light let in upon her late Majesty's life and reign, as Monarch and as woman, in the lecture which Lord Esher delivered at the Royal Institution, where he read extracts from the unpublished parts of the private journal in which the Queen, with characteristically scrupulous care and method, made entry of her thoughts and occupations from the age of thirteen down almost to the last of her days. So early an unscreening of thoughts and of motives and actions to which the public were not intended to be privy would be a dangerous and embarrassing experiment in the case of most private persons. In the case of most Sovereigns, including those who wore the Crown of this country before 1837, it would be practically impossible. Incidents and objects, discreditable and contemptible, would have "leaped to light"; and not only would reputations already tarnished have received further injury, but the credit of the Crown and the interests of the nation would have been seriously compromised. It is perhaps the greatest testimony that could be paid to Queen Victoria's

own qualities and character, the chief proof of the benignant influence she exercised on the public life and policy of the Empire that she reigned over so long, that she has rendered it possible to make an end of the tradition mentioned by Thorold Rogers that secret Court archives must be buried for a century before it is safe to expose them to the light; and, along with it, she has destroyed the inference that what is kept hidden must needs be discreditable.

With the accession of Queen Victoria, in fact, there was opened a new and cleaner page in the history of the British Court and of the political life of our country. For an improvement which has meant so much for Crown and nation we have chiefly to thank the good and great Queen who found her realm just emerging from the throes of a political revolution, and who, after watching over its destinies with ceaseless and laborious care for more than sixty years, bequeathed to her son a throne "broad-based upon a people's will," in a higher and truer sense than ever before. The praise of being great as well as good cannot be denied her after what has been made known of the work she did, in secret and openly, in building up a free and mighty nation, bound by love as well as duty to the person of the Sovereign and to the Monarchial principle. Great intellectually, as the word is generally understood, the late Queen could hardly be said to be. But she possessed what was much more important and valuable for the work she had to do, uncommon strength of will, remarkable clearness of perception as to the true path of her duty, and steadfast and tireless resolution in treading that path. She was singularly endowed, in short, with those rarest and most precious qualities in persons who have inherited supreme positions of responsibility and power—high principle, perseverance, and sound commonsense. In exercising these qualities, which she has handed down to her son, she undoubtedly received incalculable help and support from the counsels of the Prince Consort. But the extracts read by Lord Esher from her diary, while she was

still a young and untrained girl, setting her juvenile mind to the labour of presiding over the fortunes of a nation, prove that they were hers by nature. Apart from those years of seclusion from the more public duties of her station that immediately followed upon the stroke by which she was made a widow—a seclusion which Lord Esher thinks was the greatest error that the Queen ever committed—she never shrank from the full and scrupulous discharge of her weighty task. And if, indeed, it was error in the Queen thus to retire for a time with her grief from the forefront of public life, it is an error that only knits sympathy more closely to the woman. Woman as well as Sovereign Queen Victoria remained throughout the strenuous years of her reign; and to both words she gave a fresh and nobler significance.

It is among her chief titles to our gratitude and admiration that, in Lord Esher's words, she gave "a restatement of the Monarchical principle in the eyes of all grave and earnest men." It was her direct as well as her indirect action as Sovereign "which revived the interest of the British people in monarchical institutions and in a certain degree remodelled the Constitution." The Monarchical principle was in a somewhat parlous position at the hour when the young daughter of the Duke of Kent was awakened out of her sleep to be told that she had succeeded to the Throne of these islands. It had fared ill in the hands of some of her predecessors. Indeed, it may be said that not one in the long line of those who had reigned since the Union of the Kingdoms could endure to have turned upon his life and reign the light that comes from secret archives and private correspondence. The Crown had lost popularity and repute—it had been brought into something like public contempt—by the conduct of its wearers in the first third of the nineteenth century. It might well have seemed probable, with revolution already in the air and beginning to empty some of the thrones of Europe, that the old saying would be fulfilled, and that the Crown and the Monarchical principle would "gang wi' a

lass." A great change has been made by simple, straightforward honesty of purpose and by resolute, unfaltering devotion to duty. The Queen made the good of her people and the safety and strength of her realm the great aim and object of her life. In the end she accomplished much more than she could have dreamed when, a girl with the Crown still only a vision in prospect, she recorded in her journal her vow "to strive to become every day less trifling and more fit for what, if Heaven willed it, she was some day to be." In strenuously and patiently doing her duty according to her lights, she was strengthening mightily, along with the other interests and institutions of the country, the crowning and regulating institution of the Monarchy; not only has it been buttressed, it has been placed in an altogether safer and more exalted position. Her reign illustrated in the happiest and most successful form "the retarding and arresting action of the Crown" in the working of the Constitution and in the shaping of foreign policy. Not once but many times it fell to her lot to "encourage the flagging energies of her Ministers, and to urge them to be consistent in their aims, and to show firmness in carrying out a policy to which they had committed the nation." One can imagine such a duty falling sometimes on her successor. The doctrine of Cabinet responsibility was strongly held by her; in her view, repeatedly expressed, a Minister should never, in speeches made to the public, "outstep the limits of Cabinet agreement," or pledge himself without at the same time pledging all his colleagues; and, although there have been Prime Ministers willing to "turn a blind eye towards a too impetuous colleague," there has been none incapable of "relishing the support against an unruly colleague offered him by the Sovereign." This, too, is a lesson of Queen Victoria's time that may bear repetition. The Queen's journals, intended only for her own eye, have become a legacy to the nation. A hundred volumes of them she wrote with her own hand, and passages from them, down to the latest, will doubtless appear, as lapse of time allows and as circum-

stances dictate, to instruct and to enlighten. There is, besides, the monumental mass of her correspondence, already collected in a thousand volumes, to which two hundred have still to be added. In all these, we may feel assured, there is no record that can stain or lower the name of the Good Queen, or diminish the love and veneration in which her memory is held.

Before entering on the new reign, we must pause for a little to pay our tribute to one of the late Queen's most notable of Prime Ministers, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, whose death occurred May 19, 1898. This eminent Commoner was the great preponderating force in the politics of the nineteenth century, as well as the most effective of Parliamentary orators. Before his decease he had passed from active participation in politics, but his memory will always be dear to those who held him among the chief and most illustrious of England's later-day statesmen and sons. On the 28th of May he had the honor of a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, where his remains were interred.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PASSING OF ENGLAND'S GREAT COMMONER.

It would be trite to say that the world is the poorer for the death of Mr. Gladstone. Only commonplace must be words that would seek to measure the sense of loss felt by all in the passing into the Beyond of the venerable statesman whose name and fame are henceforth not England's only, but a world's heritage. Yet inadequate as words must be, it is not with tongue or pen alone, but with the great common heart of the race, that men and nations mourn stricken greatness, and feel regret for departed worth. The removal hence of one of the country's most highly gifted and illustrious sons is, we have inferred, not a loss merely to the country that has produced him, but a loss that the whole world deploras. It is not only the greatest citizen of a great empire whom we mourn as having gone from earth, but a voice also that has been stilled which once resounded in the "Parliament of Man" and found an echo in the "Federation of the World"—for it was in the embodied tones of humanity's voice that Mr. Gladstone often spoke, and in a world's weal that he spent a life of noble thought and strenuous, self-sacrificing toil.

The age, it is true, was propitious to the high ideals which the great statesman cherished, and under the inspiration of which his splendid achievements were wrought and his great measures of reform accomplished. It is appreciation of these ideals, no less than the memory of his great and distinguished services, that has won for him the applause of nations, and the love of all who honor preëminent talents and reverence moral worth.

Hardly could there be a greater tribute to a public man than the universality of the sentiment of regret which was

conspicuous at Mr. Gladstone's decease. Nor has this feeling found expression alone among English-speaking peoples. Profound has been the sympathy of this country with the stricken statesman in these recent months of pain and suffering, which have marred the happiness of his closing days, and, now that his career is ended, unfeigned is the regret of his "kin beyond the sea" which has followed him to the tomb. A like sympathy has been evoked among the peoples of the European Continent, and especially among the smaller nationalities in whose behalf Mr. Gladstone's voice was often warmly and effectively raised. From these and other quarters—from kings, statesmen, ambassadors, and public officials of every class, as well as from the myriad common people whom he loved and who revered his name and honored his work—have come manifestations of genuine sorrow, with words of often touching regard and tender regret.

Of these foreign appreciations, could the departed statesman have lived to hear them, none, we apprehend, would have pleased him more than those from Italy, Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria, expressing admiration for Mr. Gladstone as a statesman, profound respect for his devotion to liberty, and lasting gratitude for his priceless services in the cause of oppressed humanity. Nor, when all allowance is made for his few shortcomings, and especially for some apparent contradictions and occasional inconsistencies in his lengthened career, was Mr. Gladstone unworthy of the homage and affection which have been so universally paid to his memory. To look back upon his career and recall the throng and variety of interests with which his name has been associated, and especially upon the moral force which he so beneficently exercised in the feverish world of politics, is to repress all cavil and criticism, and remove from the mind every prejudice against one who did so much good in his time, and who set before the public mind of his age so noble an example of all that is righteous, honorable, and highminded. When to these virtues as a statesman we add the graces that adorned his character

as a man, and with his unique personality, which is his paramount claim to remembrance, our pride in his career may well be great and our reverence for his memory be unbounded.

Of Mr. Gladstone's public career, which in its main outlines is so familiar to the reader, we need hardly here deal. More profitable, perhaps, in the present paper, will be a glance or two at some features of the great statesman's career in paths other than political, which with his splendid abilities as a publicist and parliamentary athlete for nearly two generations have earned him place among the illustrious dead in the ancient fane of the English-speaking race. Of these, we will here specially touch on Mr. Gladstone's oratory, on his writings, and on the theological bent and religious character of his mind—all of them topics of large and admitted interest. On such subjects, we need hardly warn the reader, we shall say little that is new, though it may not be without interest to traverse ground already familiar, at least to those who have had acquaintance with English public life, and have followed with any degree of closeness Mr. Gladstone's long and phenomenal career. Nor can one venture, in dealing with so extraordinary and unique a life, to do more than skirt the edges of it in a brief article, since, were we adequate to the task, it would take volumes to portray the great Commoner as he lived and thought and worked, in every aspect of that wonderful and comprehensive nature; and in all the phases of his many-sided, complex, and subtle mind.

Over a recently-closed grave a writer is but too apt, we recall, to fall into panegyric merely, and to forget passages in a great leader's career and characteristics of his mind that will not altogether escape the censure of history. And yet, if we except a certain habit of self-sophistication, born perhaps of his familiarity with religious casuistry, and the political tergiversation which in the Home Rule controversy alienated from him the best minds of the Liberal Party and created a certain distrust of him in those who naturally shrank from Irish separatism and revolution,

there is nothing in Mr. Gladstone's long career that falls short of the highest patriotism or the loftiest ideal of public duty. That he passed, just before the heyday of his career, from extreme Toryism to extreme Liberalism, and even Radicalism, is due more to the circumstances of the time and the advance of our modern era, when the old, in almost all things, was sloughed off for the new, rather than to any instability of principle, still less lack of earnestness in matters of conviction. Nor is there nothing to be said to justify his espousal of Irish Home Rule, save on the score of opportunism, as his political adversaries were wont to allege: on the contrary, we see in the attitude of this true Englishman and great leader of men only another and most creditable instance of Mr. Gladstone's humanity and keen sense of national wrong, which, at any hazard to himself, he was bound, in so far as he could, to make right. We see the same motive, as well as the same fascination, in the wrongs of Greece, of Armenia, and Bulgaria, which led him to stand forth so dauntlessly and indignantly as their eloquent champion.

It is here, in connection with such themes, that Mr. Gladstone found the field for the exercise of his greatest gift—a fluent and all-pervading eloquence. In hall and forum and on hustings, a thousand times has the charm of his voice been heard, either advocating with impassioned words the claims of freedom or reform, or with burning wrath pouring out denunciations on wrong and tyranny. It was this spell of the golden tongue, coupled with a winning presence and a fascinating personality, that in parliament so often hushed to silence the strife of party and the din of political faction. Since Burke's or O'Connell's day the voice of no Englishman, save that of John Bright, has so thrilled the House of Commons as the "tribune of the people" thrilled it; while in hall or on platform, when incensed at a weak nation's oppression, the thunders of his voice would make effete thrones tremble. Nor is this any rash figure, as all will attest who have ever heard the great orator and master of dialectics. "His command,"

writes a journalist who knew him well, "over the emotions of masses of men—who, in the aggregate, have always been, and always will be, governed by their emotions, rather than by their reason—would have been great in any country; in England it was irresistible." The same writer accounts for the spell which Mr. Gladstone's oratory cast over those who heard him, by ascribing its influence to "the semi-religious qualities of the orator—to his devout earnestness, his solemn faith in the political gospel of the moment, and his almost apostolic assurance of a divine commission to preach it." This, in great measure, was the secret of his mastery over a people still under the influence of Puritanism, and with a deep strain of seriousness in the national character.

To add to the effect, there was also the wonderful quality of his voice, essentially virile and masculine, as was the orator's manly and resolute character. It was its strength rather than its melody, that first used to strike the observer; but when warmed up, and especially when sympathy had been established between speaker and hearer, the kindliness of the orator's disposition, and his moral enthusiasm, brought a glow and thrill and passion into his words that the coldest nature could never resist succumbing to. And yet it was not magnetism wholly that most affected his audiences, for he ever appealed to reason and directed his utterances to men of stable judgment and proverbial good sense. He was usually too much in earnest, as well as too intensely practical, to be artistic, even in speeches that beforehand must have been pretty well thought out. On the other hand, if never elaborate, they rarely failed in effect, even when addressed to a hostile audience, or an audience adverse to his own views and opinions. But he best shone in exposition and as a debater, and remarkable was the combination of readiness and ease with which he would reply on the moment to even a lengthened argument and vehemently tear it in pieces. On such occasions he seldom came off worsted, and the polemical advantage was rarely with his opponents.

In connection with Mr. Gladstone's oratory, a word of his personal appearance may here seem fitting to readers of the present volume on this side of the Atlantic. On this subject it may be premised that the tree was no less noble than its fruit. The orator had the well-nigh incalculable advantage of a magnificent presence (even as a young man he was spoken of as "handsome Gladstone"), and this, undoubtedly, had not a little to do with his power over men. He was tall and of vigorous frame, and had a finely formed and massive head, with a large nose, mobile mouth, and eyes dark, as well as expressive, and of peculiar brilliance. In later years, his hair was thin and white, his forehead expansive, and his complexion had a waxy hue, like ivory. When wearied, after a long and exhausting speech, his face in repose seemed to assume the lividness of death, though, usually, nothing could be more benign, animated, and expressive than his countenance. At exciting periods in debate, while he had great command of himself, and preserved in an especial degree the traditional legislative urbanities, and the parliamentary manner, he could be very vehement, and even tempestuous, in his mode of address. When his duties took him to London, he was a considerable diner-out, and in society, which he enjoyed, he was a great and delightful conversationalist, though, unlike great talkers, he was rarely a monopolist. He was, however, most domestic in his habits, and had a special love for his beautiful home at Hawarden, and there was wont to be found in his library—the "temple of peace," as he called it. Few public men have had a happier domestic life, or been blessed with a more attached and devoted wife and happy family. The home, in his eyes, was therefore full of the sanctities which made it a coveted place to resort to, in the midst of a toilsome and often stormy career.

We now pass, and briefly, to his writings. Here Mr. Gladstone in volume looms largely, but not by any means to his advantage, as contrasted with the reputation he has won as an orator and debater. The difference, indeed, is

most marked, for in his books we lose the fluency and the streams of limpid utterance which so delightfully marked his spoken speech. Besides this, we miss, in many instances, the qualities of attractiveness and interest in the subjects that most exactly engrossed his written thought. His themes are to a considerable extent controversial, and where they are not so they are usually academic both in tone and in character. In writing he never acquired the light hand of the *littérateur*, but was generally either the polemic or the schoolman. And yet he was not always engaged in combating Vaticanism, in upholding High Church theories on the Relations of Church and State, or in ingeniously elucidating Homer. Even these themes, alien as they are to the multitude, he invested with a distinct interest, for he was a man of wide reading and, though not of scientific attitude in his thought or modern in his scholarship, he could write impressively and with much and dignified rhetoric and a characteristic wealth of phrase.

In dealing with ecclesiastical history or with doctrinal matters, his point of view is always that of the High Anglican, with a natural bent towards mysticism. In Biblical criticism, as in his views on cosmogony, he was hampered by his stiff, unyielding orthodoxy, though he was tolerant towards sects; and, while he had a leaning towards sacerdotalism, he was a bitter foe to Papal assumptions. It is in reminiscent subjects, such as are to be found in the collected series of "Gleanings of Past Years," as well as in biography, occasionally in history, and in popular contributions of a religious character, such as in his thoughtful and eloquent introduction to "The People's Bible History," that Mr. Gladstone appeals with success to the interest of the mass of readers and charms them most. This is the common ground on which Mr. Gladstone and his closet-audiences will most helpfully meet, and where the latter will unquestionably follow him with interest and appreciation as a writer. It is here, too, especially in the domain of religious thought, that reflecting minds will bear willing testimony to the moral power of Mr. Gladstone's

example and the elevating influence of his Christian life. It is this phase of the deceased statesman's career and work that drew from Lord Salisbury, despite the political antagonisms of many years, the beautiful eulogy in the House of Peers. In announcing the death of his great rival, the then Prime Minister affirmed that Mr. Gladstone "will leave a deep and most salutary influence on the political and social thought of his generation, and he will be long remembered as a great example, of which history hardly furnishes a parallel, of a great Christian life."

Nor, in these days of moral declension in public life, and of questionable ethics in governing, is the influence of such a career without value as a protest, as well as an example. It shows, and with impressive effect, that the game of politics can be played with all the keenness of a dexterous party leader, and yet without any besmirching of personal character or lowering of high Christian ideals. In this respect, alike in the active duties and in the laborious leisure of his position, Mr. Gladstone's life and his aims and methods as a statesman, cannot be without beneficent results in the future of legislation and the art of governing, for never has a public man, outside the Church, made hitherto so large and important a contribution to the spiritual wealth and influence of a nation. This is no little thing to say of one, who, like Mr. Gladstone, has played so mighty a part in the history of his country, and who, so far from being a mere pietist, employed his powers in so many and varied fields of secular thought and work, and, despite the pressure of public duties, found leisure to engage in multifarious and profitable works a mind of phenomenal grasp and scope. Nor was industry, not to speak of his vast intellectual power and versatility, the least of his Olympian characteristics. Few men better than Mr. Gladstone have shown us what can be accomplished within the limits of even a long and arduous life, and that without stint of personal exertion and the assiduous labour of his own hand. His correspondence was, we believe, of amazing and most exacting extent, for when in office he is

known to have had letters, official and private, come to him at the rate of fifteen every half-hour for eight hours in the day, to most of which he gave personal attention and in large measure a personal reply. These are some of the characteristics of the man who now fitly sleeps in that "temple of reconciliation and silence"—Westminster Abbey—hard by the scenes of his life's great defeats and great triumphs, for to few men, in the degree Mr. Gladstone possessed them, have been given the qualities that produce great attachments and at the same time breed great antagonisms. These are some of the characteristics of a life that, moreover, may well serve as a model for public men, as well as for those who, in however humble a measure, seek to consecrate their gifts of time and opportunity, without parade or pretence, to God and duty. It is a life that will best serve for this world and the next, and, if our poor faith fail not, must, in the sum of things, meet its rich and abundant reward.—G. M. A.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EMPIRE'S NEW SOVEREIGN—KING EDWARD VII.

ON the death of Queen Victoria (January 22, 1901), her eldest son, then Prince of Wales, born November 9, 1841, succeeded to the throne as King Edward VII., the coronation taking place August 9, 1902. At Windsor, on March 10, 1863, King Edward married Princess (now Queen) Alexandra, eldest daughter of his late Majesty, King Christian IX. of Denmark, then in her eighteenth year. Their Majesties have living one son, George, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester (born June 3, 1865), the heir to the throne; and three daughters, (1) Princess Louise (Duchess of Fife), (2) Princess Victoria, and (3) Princess Maud, who in 1896 married Prince Charles of Denmark, now King Haakon VII. of Norway. The Duke of Cornwall, who is in the direct line of succession to the Crown, married Princess Victoria Mary of Teck, and by her has six children. In 1901, the Duke and Duchess, it will be remembered, made a worldwide tour of the British colonies and dependencies, and were everywhere received with enthusiastic greeting: four years later, they also made a tour of India. The late Queen (Victoria) had nine children—five daughters, of whom two are dead, and four sons, of whom two are dead. Those at present living are, of the sons, besides King Edward, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, and the daughters, Princess Helena (Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein), Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll), and Princess Beatrice of Battenberg. By Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, the late Empress Frederick of Germany, King Edward has a royal nephew in William II., the present Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, who was born

in 1859. The love of the Queen for domestic life, it has been well observed, has had a great deal to do in binding her children together in the bonds of fraternal affection. They, and especially such of them as still survive, "are a happy and united family, and this comes chiefly from the example set them by their parents," particularly their late royal mother. The humblest tributes to the latter "have sometimes been the most striking. For example, there was that paid to her by the Welsh nurse of Prince Arthur, the wife of a mason of Rhyl, when she wound up her description of Court life with the expression that 'the Queen was a good woman, quite fit to have been a poor man's wife as well as a Queen.' This homely dame made the further remark, that the royal children were 'kept very plain indeed—it was quite poor living—only a bit of roast meat and perhaps a plain pudding.'

The two royal jubilees, of 1887 and 1897, will recall the momentous events of a memorable period in British history. The Queen's reign, as we have already noted, "is coincident with the most surprising progress at home and abroad. It has been the age of railways, of trans-oceanic steaming, and of the telegraph; of free trade, Parliamentary reform, and the abolition of the Corn Laws. There has been no stagnation, not even for a brief period, in the arts and sciences. While some peoples have risen and others have fallen during the last sixty years, the English race has continued to spread and multiply, and to exhibit evidences of its vitality in all quarters of the world. With much of this progress, and the attachment of the nation to constitutional liberty, the name of Victoria is inextricably associated. . . . The late Earl of Carlisle once happily observed, an historian of the Queen's era has remarked, that the glories of her Majesty's reign were 'the glories of peace, of industry, of commerce, and of genius; of justice made more accessible, of education made more universal; of virtue more honoured, of religion more beloved; of holding forth the earliest Gospel light to the un-awakened nations; the glories that arise from gratitude

for benefits conferred, and the blessings of a loyal and chivalrous because a contented people.' Through years of revolution abroad, of shock and change, of wars and popular tumults, we have seen the Queen Sovereign of England conspicuously manifesting the influence and power of virtue, and bearing a name untouched by any suspicion and unblemished by any reproach. Notwithstanding the 'fierce light that beats upon a throne,' the character of the Sovereign has borne the test of that light, and has enshrined itself in the hearts of her people. It is considerations like these which have made her reign as noble as it has been illustrious."*

On the coming of Edward VII. to the throne, the population of the Empire was a little over 400 million, with an estimated area of 11,400,000 square miles. In the same year (1901) the population of the British Isles (as the census taken April 1 shows) was 41,976,827 (to-day, 1909, it is close upon 45 millions), with an area of 121,391 square miles. The population of the United Kingdom on Queen Victoria's accession, or rather at the first census of the British Isles after coming to the throne, was but 27,036,450. In 1907, of the total area in the Kingdom under cultivation (close upon 47 million acres), 8,317,413 acres were under corn crops, 4,114,535 acres were under green crops, while 27,411,720 acres were under other crops, or in grass and permanent pasture. The live stock included 2,089,027 horses, 11,630,142 cattle, 30,011,833 sheep, and 3,967,163 pigs; 56,531,198 bushels of wheat, 64,092,321 bushels of barley, &c., and 183,688,750 bushels of oats were grown in the United Kingdom; while 97,168,000 cwt. (about 194 million bushels) of wheat and 13,297,366 cwt. of meal and flour were imported in 1907. For the year 1908-09, the national income and disbursements were as follows (in pounds sterling): Revenue, £154,350,000; expenditure, £154,109,000. In the same year the national net debt amounted to 724,352,150 pounds

*"Life of Queen Victoria," by Geo. Barnett Smith.

sterling, being at the rate of £16, 8, 6 per head of the population of the Kingdom. The imports (imperial and foreign) for the year 1907 amounted to a total of £645,807,942, while the exports (also imperial and foreign) were in value £517,977,167.

CHAPTER XXV.

BRITISH INDIA, AUSTRALIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

THE title of Empress of India was in 1877 assumed by Queen Victoria at Delhi, and when King Edward, in 1901, succeeded her Majesty he took the title of Emperor of the far-distant Eastern dependency of the Crown. During the later years of the King's royal mother, the chief military troubles of British India,* as is recorded by a contemporary English historian, were with the fierce frontier tribes of the North-West. Conspicuous among these were the Afridis, a fanatical hill tribe of warriors, who gave much trouble, and necessitated great efforts before they could be forced into submission in 1898. In India itself, there was such peace as the land had never known before, though wellbeing was still limited by the chronic poverty of the mass of the people, and checked by a series of terrible famines. The very rapid increase of population brought about since the old checks on growth have become weaker, raised real problems as to their maintenance. But manufactures are springing up to take away some of the surplus population from the soil, and in the great industrial cities of modern India the stationary stage of civilization has been almost outgrown. But the mass of the population still live their old life, untouched by the manifestations of Western civilization which are around them. Nothing is more remarkable than the constant contrast of old and new, East and West, which British India presents.

*For the chief material of this chapter we are indebted to Prof. T. F. Tout's "History of Great Britain to the Death of Victoria."

We must go back to the Eastern part of the Roman Empire in its palmy days to find its like. The conquest of India is among the greatest achievements of Englishmen. Its government by them is still more creditable and wonderful.

Remarkable during the Victorian era has been the development of the Australian colonies. This was very slow at first, since the original settlements were mere convict stations. To Sydney (1788) was added Port Phillip (1803), Tasmania (1804), and the Swan River (1826), all as penal colonies. Progress became possible when the opening up of fertile pastures led to sheep-farming on a large scale, and this in its turn attracted free settlers. Before long the colonists refused to allow the further exportation of convicts to their shores. The discovery of gold-fields further enriched Port Phillip and its capital, Melbourne, named in 1837 after the Whig prime minister. In 1851, the region round these spots was separated from New South Wales and became the separate colony of Victoria. Other colonies were cut off—Queensland in 1859, in the hot but genial regions of the north-east; and South Australia, established in 1836, with a capital named Adelaide, after William IV.'s queen. Tasmania became a separate government in 1856; and the Swan River Settlement, after a languishing existence for a long time, received a great impetus through gold discoveries in its interior, and in 1890, with the name of Western Australia, received the responsible government already allowed to its more populous neighbours. At last, in 1901, all the Australian colonies were united in a federal union, called the *Commonwealth of Australia*.* Besides these, the flourishing islands of New Zealand, first settled in 1839 and gradually built up out of nine separate provinces, were united in 1875 in a single colony.

South Africa stands midway between colonies of the

*The first Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth was opened by the Duke of Cornwall and York on May 9th, 1901.

type of Australia and Canada and the West-Indian-planter class of settlement. It is a genuine colony, where Dutchmen since the seventeenth century, and Englishmen in the nineteenth, have settled in large numbers. But the native races have always been, and will certainly remain, the great majority of the population, so that its progress has been rendered slow by the conflict between European and African as well as by the national hostility of Dutch and English. Disliking the pushing ways of the adventurous British settlers, who went to South Africa after the peace of Paris, and bitterly resenting the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, the more independent of the Boers withdrew in detachments from the original settlements in Cape Colony, and sought to find new homes for themselves in the wilderness. The first migration was in 1835, when some of the Boers established on the north-east coast the republic of *Natal*, but the English followed them, and in 1843 took Natal into their own hands.

Other more fortunate Boer bands established the Orange River Free State, which, in 1854, was allowed its independence by Britain; while in 1852 other Boers migrated north of the Vaal into a district called, after 1858, the South African Republic or the Transvaal. Their numbers were so scanty that they found great difficulty both in administering the country and in keeping down the natives, and especially the fierce Zulus who dwelt in the lands between their territories and the Indian Ocean. From these difficulties so many troubles flowed to South Africa, that, in 1877, the Transvaal was annexed, and abortive attempts were made to unite all the South African colonies in a federation. The native troubles were appeased in 1879, when the Zulus and their king, Cetewayo, were overthrown. As soon as the Zulu terror was removed, the Transvaal revolted, inflicted signal defeats on the British troops, notably at Majuba Hill, and in 1881 their virtual independence was restored by the Gladstone government.

Not long after this the discovery of rich gold reefs in a district of the Transvaal, called the *Rand*, further compli-

cated the South African problem. A restless cosmopolitan population of gold-seekers filled the Rand and its chief town, Johannesburg, and it was inevitable that there should be the strongest antagonism between them and the slow-minded, hard-fighting, old-fashioned Dutch farmers. Though hating the foreigners and their ways, the Boers shrewdly profited by the flowing tide of wealth set rolling by the *Outlanders*, carefully excluded them from the citizenship, and, continuing their old habits of military training, lavishly provided themselves with modern weapons and artillery. Their dislike of the newcomers became the greater, since a great extension of British influence was brought about after 1889, when a *British South African Company* was established by Cecil Rhodes, an English emigrant, who had made a fortune in the diamond fields of Kimberley, and in 1890 became prime minister of Cape Colony. Through his operations the districts to the north of the Transvaal were opened up for settlement under the name of *Rhodesia*, through which the Boers were limited to their existing territories. Moreover, Rhodes and his party made common cause with the Outlanders in the Transvaal, and in 1895 one of the officers of the company, Dr. Jameson, made a raid into the Transvaal. He was easily overpowered by the Boers. Moreover, his attempt did much harm to the Outlander movement, and stirred up race hatred between English and Dutch all over South Africa. At the Cape the Dutch party drove Rhodes from power, and replaced him by a ministry strongly sympathizing with the Boers. The blunders of their enemies enabled the Transvaal Boers, headed by their president, Paul Krüger,* to pose as the champion of Dutch freedom in South Africa.

From 1895 to 1899 strong tension prevailed between the rival parties in Africa, and, despite many efforts at negotiations, Krüger and the Boers refused to accept any

*President Kruger died in Switzerland July 14, 1904, and was buried at Pretoria December 16 in the same year.

terms which the British government would offer. The Boers redoubled their military preparations, and in October, 1899, the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State combined to invade Cape Colony and Natal.

The Boer war outlasted the reign of Victoria, and was only concluded under her successor. The Boer states, where every man was a rider and marksman, put a large force into the field, and at first swept everything before them. When an army corps was mobilized in England and successfully despatched to South Africa, it was split up into four divisions, not one of which was strong enough to effect its purpose. The fiercest fighting was in Natal, where the Boers besieged the chief force in South Africa at the beginning of the war in Ladysmith, and the largest section of the corps sent from England strove in vain to relieve the siege. Before the end of 1899, three at least of the divisions of the army corps had delivered their main attack and failed. But the Boers did not know how to utilize their successes, and the early months of 1900 saw each side waiting for the other. An enormous number of fresh British troops were despatched under Lord Roberts, the hero of the Afghán war, with Lord Kitchener, the conqueror of the Soudan, as the chief of his staff. All through the Empire our reverses excited a wave of patriotic feeling, and gave admirable opportunity of demonstrating the reality of our reserve forces, and the zeal of the self-governing colonies in supplying solid bodies of fine troops for the defence of the Empire. Lord Roberts then marched from Cape Colony northwards to the Free State, defeated the main Boer army, and took possession of Bloemfontein, its capital. After his advance, the Boer forces round Ladysmith were so far weakened that it became a comparatively easy matter to storm their strong positions and relieve the hard-pressed garrison. A terrible outbreak of typhoid long delayed Roberts at Bloemfontein, but in May he resumed his advance, and occupied Johannesburg and Pretoria.

For a long time the Boers carried on a brilliant and

often successful guerilla warfare, but these efforts only increased bloodshed and bad feeling, and delayed the inevitable conquest. When at last the resistance ended, the two Boer States were annexed to the Crown. The desolation of the war prevented any sudden revival of South African prosperity, but as trade and enterprise are renewed, a sufficient flow of British emigration to South Africa may be expected, which will settle the Dutch question much as the French question was settled in Canada. Nothing will more readily further that than the renewal under happier auspices of the schemes of South African federation, whose break-down in 1877 heralded the long troubles which have at last come to a head.

THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE.

This British protectorate in Equatorial Africa, which dates only from August, 1904, has an area of 89,500 square miles, and a population estimated at 4,000,000. The possession is known as British East Africa, being situated north of German East Africa and northeast of Lake Victoria. Nyanza-Mombasa is its chief seaport and capital, to the north of Zanzibar, though the native capital, in the interior, is Mengo. The region, it will be remembered, was visited by Speke in 1862, when its native king, at the period, was Mtesa. It was later on visited by Stanley (1875), and by Emin Pasha (1876). Uganda is in part clothed with tropical forests, while it is rich in economic resources, such as rubber, ebony, gums, coffee, and the sugar-cane plant. The Nile, issuing from Victoria Nyanza, waters the protectorate on the northwest. Recently, the Governor has been making a tour throughout the region, with interesting results. Some account of this tour is here appended, taken from an editorial in the *Edinburgh Scotsman*, of March 15, 1909, which will be found instructive reading:

“Darkest Africa” is being gradually illuminated by the torch of Western civilization, but abysmal blackness still

lies like a pall over many of its hills and valleys. In the course of a few years the gloom may have lifted. The work of bringing in the light proceeds apace. Nowhere probably is better work being done than in the British Protectorate of Uganda. That country has been frequently spoken of as a remarkable example of the rapidity with which native races may assimilate the lessons of civilisation. Of a certain part of the country this is true; of the whole of it it may soon be true. But meanwhile in the Eastern Province the natives are still in the first stages of progress. It is only within the last year or two that they have come directly under British influence; and it is too early yet to predict with certainty the results of the future. They are, however, an interesting and intelligent people, amenable to order and friendly to the British authority. They seem to be well thought of by the British Agents of the Protectorate. Recently the Governor of Uganda completed a tour through the Province, and from his report to the Secretary of State an interesting glimpse may be had of their pursuits, character, and customs. He deals with two peoples, the Bagishu and the Bakedi. They seem to form a singular contradiction—not to one another, but to themselves. With both the art of cultivation has reached an astonishing degree of perfection. "Right through the smiling valleys of the Bagishu," writes the Governor, "and up to the very summits of the hills nothing but continuous fields of bananas, millet, and wimbi could be seen. It is no exaggeration to state that over 80 per cent. of the land is under cultivation." Moreover, these people build as well as they cultivate. "Dotted all about, in wondrous profusion, are the neat dome-shaped huts of the Bagishu; looking like immense hives, each one flanked by one or two smaller huts serving as granaries." The whole scene reminded the Governor of "the vineyards of Switzerland or of Southern France," and "gave one an impression of so much calm security and peace that it was hard to realise that we were in the heart of wildest Africa." The country of the Bakedi did not inspire quite

the same enthusiastic praise; but still the Governor remarked that "their huts are beautifully made, and the plantations are kept in very fair order." These peoples, it should be remembered, do not owe this excellent condition of affairs to European intelligence. It has grown out of their own civilisation, and is a surprisingly effective testimony to the unaided progress which they have made towards the higher ideals of the West.

But although some natural instinct has early taught them the value of industry, the benefits of a plentiful harvest, and the way to cultivate their lands, the social progress of these natives has hardly yet begun. Of all the inhabitants of the Protectorate the Bagishu are, says the Governor, "the wildest, the most independent, and the most primitive." They live packed together—400,000 of them in an area about the size of Yorkshire—but there is barely a trace of organization in the community. The unit is the family. Normally they are divided into clans, but it is only on rare occasions that the authority of the chief is recognized—mainly, if not wholly, in times of war. Moreover, between these so-called "clans" there is no combination. It was the experience of the British officials that a punitive expedition against any one "clan" evoked no signs of hostility from the others, nor did they show the least desire to help one another in such circumstances. The Bagishu have several very undesirable habits, the most revolting of which is their addiction to cannibalism. The custom seems, however, to be in its last stage, since they do not hunt and kill their enemies for the sake of food; in the rather cynical language of the Governor, their attitude in the matter seems to be that "burial is a wanton waste." Their ideas of material comfort are limited to a plentiful supply of grain, cereals, and fruit, and a substantial dwelling. Their huts contain little or no furniture, and they wear no clothing. Their one manufacture indicating any sense of refinement is a rather handsome species of pottery. Otherwise they are an exclusively practical and materialistic people. They are polygamous,

but not immoral or degenerate. "Their demeanour is frank and independent," says the Governor; "they look at one squarely in the face, and they show an appreciation of fair treatment." They quite won the Governor's heart; and certainly, as he presents them, the Bagishu are a fine example of a primitive people. Of the Bakedi, the Governor has not quite so much to say. As in the case of the Bagishu, the family is the unit, and there is little or no cohesion among the various tribes. The "equality of man" is apparently a fundamental principle with both these peoples. The physique of the Bakedi is said to be very fine. "Both sexes," writes the Governor, "are exceptionally tall and splendidly developed, many of them being models of symmetry. Their features and expressions are pleasant and cheery, and they seemed to me to be particularly attractive people." Like the Bagishu, most of the Bakedi are absolutely naked. They are, however, acquiring a liking for dress, which the Governor seems to deplore, because, as he remarks, "more clothes means less morals. The Baganda, who have always been greatly addicted to wearing apparel, are of notoriously lax habits." Morality amongst the Bakedi is extraordinarily high, and is enforced by rigid laws. In one other respect the Governor contrasts this primitive people, who have just been made acquainted with Western civilisation, with their neighbours, the Baganda, who have had a longer intimacy with Europeans. "Unlike the luxurious Baganda," he says, "who are content to lie all day long in the shade of their banana groves, while their weary wives toil incessantly in the blazing sun, the Bakedi do their fair share along with their spouses." This the Governor considers one of the most promising omens for their progress, since it shows that the men do not consider agricultural labour beneath the dignity of a male.

A first requisite in the effective occupation of new and undeveloped territory is the construction of good roads. Already this is being carried out with conspicuous success in the regions of the Bagishu and Bakedi. Particularly

in the land of the latter the excellence of the newly-made roads "amazed" the Governor. "Not only," he says, "have some 300 miles of admirable highways, never less than 40 feet broad, been made to connect all the important points, but hundreds of thousands of good shade trees have been planted all along both sides of them." These excellent roads were constructed, and are being maintained, as the Governor remarks, "by absolutely naked savages." The natives gave their labour freely because they realise that "British rule means a security for life and property which, up to lately, they had hardly dreamed of." "Unhappily," says the Governor dolefully, "this state of affairs cannot be expected to last very long. The facilities for trade which we are bringing to these savages will soon give to them a sense of the value of their time." If the natives may be trusted to learn spontaneously the value of their time, in more recondite matters their education is being undertaken by British officials, assisted by a number of intelligent Baganda. An effort is being made to create a system of chiefs and headmen, so as to consolidate the scattered units under a single authority; these chiefs will be instructed in the ways of native administration. Attention is also being given to agriculture, for which both the Bagishu and the Bakedi have shown such natural aptitude. The Governor proposes to encourage the growth of cotton in the country of the Bakedi, where it is now being grown experimentally with success. He speaks guardedly of the prospects in Uganda for European "settlers." There is, however, if not a market for British labour, a market for British goods. The Governor has been startled by the ignorance or indifference of British manufacturers to this new and promising market.

CHAPTER XXVI.

POLITICAL OCCURRENCES IN THE NEW REIGN.

ON the death (Jan. 22, 1901) of Queen Victoria, her eldest son declared to the Privy Council, which was at once summoned, the king's intention of adopting the title of Edward VII., under which name he was at once proclaimed and Parliament met to take the oath of allegiance. The House then adjourned for three weeks to allow the late Queen's State funeral to take place, which occurred on February 2d, amid expressions of universal sympathy and mourning. On the reassembling of Parliament a committee was appointed to deal with the new sovereign's Civil List; while the House proceeded to the consideration of budget measures, army and navy estimates, educational matters, and to the awarding to Lord Roberts, for his services in connection with the war in South Africa, a grant of 100,000 pounds sterling, and a further one, of half the latter sum, to Lord Kitchener. Early in the following year (1902), the House took up for consideration the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Convention, the result of which was the signing (January 30) of a treaty between Great Britain and Japan, published on the 12th of February following. The treaty, which was to remain in force for five years, provided for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Far East, and recognized the independence of China and Korea. After severe fighting in the Transvaal, the Boer war showed signs of coming to a close, in the arrival at Pretoria (March 23, 1902) of a number of Boer delegates under a flag of truce; while in the following month of June (the 17th) the Boers surrendered, to the number of 18,400. The war was a costly one to Britain, both of men and treasure, its cost,

in money, exceeding 222,000,000 pounds sterling, while its losses in the field were 1,072 officers and 20,870 men. The Boer loss in killed, it has been estimated, was over 3,700 men.

On July 11, 1902, the Conservative Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, resigned, having been in office since the fall of the short Liberal ministry of Lord Rosebery in June, 1895. He was succeeded in the premiership by his nephew, the Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, member for East Manchester, who had sat almost continuously in the Commons since 1874. Under the second and third Salisbury administrations, Mr. Balfour was first Lord of the Treasury and Government leader in the Commons; while during his uncle's absence in 1898 from illness he acted as head of foreign affairs. In 1886-87 he was successively Secretary of State for Scotland and Chief Secretary for Ireland, and in 1893 he led the opposition in the House of Commons against Mr. Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill. In 1902-03, he took a leading part in educational legislation in Parliament, while his philosophic writings, essays and addresses, won him fame in the field of letters. In 1905, his general policy as premier provoked much discussion in Parliament, so much so as to compel him toward the close of the year to resign, when he was succeeded on December 5, by the then Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. During the Balfour administration, the Premier was actively assisted by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in the management of Colonial affairs. The Colonial Secretary was also zealous in urging fiscal reform, and in suggesting a preference for a fiscal system that would be helpful to the colonies of the Crown, while retaliating against protectionist foreign countries. While Mr. Balfour held office, his uncle, Lord Salisbury died (August 22, 1903), and in the following year (October 1, 1904), occurred the death of Sir William Harcourt, for many years a useful and notable Liberal statesman. In the same year (July 14, 1904) ex-President Krüger died in Switzerland, and in the following December his

remains were buried at Pretoria. In 1905, a new Constitution was by letters patent issued for the Transvaal, and the Earl of Selborne was appointed to succeed Lord Milner as High Commissioner in South Africa. In the same year, Lord Curzon resigned as Viceroy in India, and was succeeded by the Earl of Minto; while Earl Grey was appointed Governor-General of Canada, and the Earl of Dudley became Governor-General of the new commonwealth of Australia.

On the resignation of the Unionist Ministry of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Balfour, a Liberal administration came into power under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and early in the year 1906 a general election was held in the British Isles, with the following party results: Liberals, 387; Irish Nationalists, 84; Labour Members, 41; Conservatives and Unionists, 158—a majority for the Liberals and Allies of 354. The new administration was a short-lived one, chiefly from the illness of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, who was able to be in his place in the Commons on only a few occasions, and early in April, 1908, tendered his resignation to the Crown. On the 8th of that month, King Edward, who was then at Biarritz, summoned Mr. H. H. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to form an administration, which he at once did, and was in a position to resume Parliamentary business when Sir Henry, the late Premier, succumbed to his illness on April 22, noteworthy tributes to his memory being delivered by the leaders of the various parties in the House. Mr. Asquith was able to form a strong ministry (the one currently in power), and it has been able to grapple with useful legislation, besides rousing the country on the weakness of the army and the navy (in view of the feared aggressive designs of Germany), while it has paid considerable attention to budget matters as well as to educational affairs, and to a scheme of providing old age pensions. The late election, obviously, was a free-trade victory, though there is a danger with which the new government is menaced in an alliance of the Socialists with Protection, while it

is embarrassed, to some extent, by the clamours of the female Suffragists. It has also been perplexed, as the humanitarian feelings of the English people have been excited, by the Mohammedan outrages perpetrated on the Christian missionaries in Asiatic Turkey, and by the revolutionary upheaval on the part of the Young Turks at Constantinople, which has set aside the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., and placed on the Turkish throne his brother, who rules as Mehmed V. The government has also at present to contend with large deficiencies in the current revenues of the nation, to meet which there is a resort to higher taxation and to an almost socialistic budget.

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